LIBERIA.

A republic founded by black men, reared by black men, maintained by black men, and which holds out to our hope the brightest prospects.—HENRY CLAY.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.
COLONIZATION BUILDING, 450 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE.

PRESBYTERY OF LIBERIA, WESTERN AFRICA.

LIBERIA.

BULLETIN No. 25. NOVEMBER, 1904.

WEST AFRICAN NEGROLAND.

BY LADY LUGARD.

I was asked to read a paper tonight upon Nigeria—that portion of West African Negroland which my husband is engaged in administering for the Crown, and the only portion with which I have any personal acquaintance—but I have so often been asked where Nigeria is, by what sort of people it is inhabited, under what political system it has existed, that I have thought it might be interesting if, instead of speaking to-night at any length about Nigeria itself, I were to endeavor to give some slight general sketch of the little-known section of the world to which it belongs.

But the first thing which I want to say about Nigeria is that it is not properly a name. It is only an English expression which has been made to comprehend a number of native States covering about 500,000 square miles in that part of the world which we call the Western Soudan. It lies, as you see, in the arms of the Middle Niger and the Benue and forms part of the great watershed of Lake Chad. It drains east and west and south from the high, dry uplands of the desert and the channels of the Niger and the Benue—of which river the name means "mother of waters"—receive all its lesser rivers which do not flow into Lake Chad.

Ancient geographers called the part of the world to which it belongs sometimes Soudan, sometimes Ethiopia, sometimes Nigretia, sometimes Tekrour, sometimes, and more often, Genowah or Genewah, which, by the European custom of throwing the accent to the fore part of the word, has become Guinea. Always and in every form their name for it meant the Land of the Blacks. Genewah, pronounced with a hard "g," is a native word signifying "black." It is so generally used to designate

blacks that at the present day among the Arabs of Egypt and the Moors of Morocco—that is, at both points of exit from the desert—I have myself heard it applied to the Negroes of the Soudan. From the earliest periods of which we have any knowledge Black Land has stretched, as it stretches now, from the west coast of Africa to the east coast along that line of successive waterways which begins with the mouth of the Senegal and ends only at the southern mouth of the Red sea.

An ex-cabinet minister once told me that all he knew of West African geography was that Africa has a hump which sticks out somewhere into the sea, and that he believed our West African colonies were there. I am not ashamed, therefore, to ask you to look at the map. There you will see that if the north of Africa be considered as a whole, it divides itself west of Egypt into three great main sections, all of which run, like the land of the blacks, from west to east.

There is first outside the tropics and within the zone of winter rains the historic coast strip stretching along the Mediterranean shore from the mouths of the Nile to Cape Spartel. A range of mountains at its back receding toward the western end separates it from the desert and gives to its fertile lands the shelter and the water which they need. These mountains have been as the stronghold of civilization to the coast. Behind them on their southern slopes there is a belt of land on which the date palm flourishes, salt mines abound, and flocks and herds can find subsistence. In this belt there are even spots of great fertility, and there are parts in which it widens, spreading with promontories of habitable land into the desert. But in its nature this southern face of the hills, known to the ancients as the "Land of Dates," is but an outskirt of the coast strip. It merges soon into the deserts of the rainless zone, which form the second great section of North Africa.

From the Atlantic coast to the Nile, these deserts, under different names, succeed each other across the continent in a broad belt of desolation. Upon the map they cover an area of between 10° and 15° of latitude. At their narrowest parts the caravans which traverse them count upon a march of fifty days. They are in great part composed of drifting sand, through which only long practiced local guides can find their way. There are places in which a scant herbage enables the flocks of nomad

Arabs to subsist, but they are practically waterless, and it is of course only in places where springs are known to exist that the passage of them is possible. With their hot sands the continent passes into the tropics, and here again a natural barrier marks the third great division of North Africa.

A straight line drawn upon the seventeenth parallel of north latitude will mark the edge of the zone of summer rains. Slightly to the south of it may be traced the great water belt formed by the course of the Senegal, the Niger, the Benue, the rivers of Hausaland, Lake Chad, the Shari, the lakes and rivers of Wadai and Darfour, the Bahr-el-Gazal, and the sources of the Nile, which, with their network of tributaries, fertilize the land from the Atlantic ocean to the mountains of Abyssinia. Other great lakes and rivers traverse the continent farther south. The waterways that I have named suffice with the Nile to check any advance of the northern deserts, and to place round them a border of luxuriant vegetation.

Thus in silent prehistoric ages the rough outlines of the destiny of North Africa were traced. There was a fertile strip in the temperate zone near to an easily navigable sea; there was a great barren strip in the waterless desert, near to nothing which could encourage human occupation; there was another fertile strip in the tropic zone, well watered, but sealess save at its southwestern extremity, miasmic, of a climate very different from that of the northern coast; and connecting these three, which lay parallel to one another, there was, running north and south at right angles to them all, the wonderfully fertilized valley of the Nile.

It was almost a foregone conclusion that one race should inhabit the coast, and a wholly different race the tropics; that civilization of a correspondingly different sort should spring up in both zones, and, separated, as they were, by the desert, it was natural that connection between these two zones should be maintained by that valley of the Nile which has made itself immortal in the name of Egypt. As it was predestined, so it happened. A white African race were the original inhabitants of the coast strip; a black African race were the original inhabitants of the tropic zone, and it was through Egypt that the inhabitants of the two zones derived their earliest information of each other. All that the early Greeks knew of Ethiopia they drew from Egyptian

sources, and it is to Egypt and through Egypt to southern Arabia that the blacks themselves trace their oldest traditions. This is a fascinating chapter of my subject, into which I must not enter, but there can be little doubt that all the Negro kingdoms lying toward the eastern end of the Soudan have received their traditions of civilization direct from ancient Egypt, while those lying toward the western end have been more strongly imbued with the influence of the western Arabs, who carried civilization into Spain. In support of this theory I may mention that the alphabet of the eastern end of Negroland is the regular alphabet of Egypt and Arabia, while the alphabet of the western Soudan is the alphabet of Morocco. The two influences appear to have overlapped each other in and near that part of Negroland to which we have given the name of Nigeria. Within comparatively modern times the practice of embalming the dead was in use on the middle Niger. The rough decorative art of the Hausa States, which lie between the Niger and Lake Chad, bears to this day a distinctively Egyptian impress. Dr. Barth mentions that at Burrum, a little town at which he stayed on the Niger, the people had a tradition that it had once been the habitation of the Pharaohs. Es Sadi, an Arab writer born at Timbuctoo in the sixteenth century, also states in his History of the Soudan that the town of Kuka was in existence under the Pharaohs. The present town of Kuka is in Bornu, the northeastern province of Nigeria. But as late as the twelfth century there were two Kukas, one of them on the middle Niger, and it is to this latter Kuka that Es Sadi refers.

The Phœnicians, who were the commercial agents of Egypt, brought intercourse with the Land of Blacks into more historic times. They made many settlements upon the north coast of Africa. Their exploration of the west coast was carried as far south as the mouth of the Senegal, and it is believed that the legend of the first white rulers in Western Negroland may be traced to them. Es Sadi, the native historian whom I have already quoted, speaks of an ancient kingdom in the west stretching to the Atlantic ocean, of which Ghana, on the Upper Niger, was the capital, and adds: "They say that twenty-two white kings had reigned over this country before the year of the Hegira. Their origin is unknown." It is in this neighborhood, about the sources of the Senegal, that the original home in

Africa of the Fulani, who count as a partly white race, is placed.

Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs in turn became masters of Egypt, and followed the Phœnicians upon the north coast of Africa. From the earliest dawn of Western history this favored spot has been the scene of civilized occupation, and as one race of conquerors displaced another there was a perpetual pressure driving the aboriginal white African inhabitants, with the dispossessed peoples, across the borders. The natural borders were the hills, and the hunted populations taking refuge in them were forced down the southern slopes upon the deserts. Gradually through the ages the deserts became the home of nomad peoples, who learned, wandering upon the inhospitable face of their drifting sands, to pluck subsistence from widely scattered patches of fertility. These wandering tribes, known under many names, from the Toucouleurs, Tuaregs, Kabyles of the west to the Tibboos, Berdoas, and others of the eastern borders of the desert, are generally classed as Berbers. One among many stories of their original introduction into Africa is that five colonies were introduced from Arabia Felix by a certain leader, Ifrikia or Afrikiah, who gave his name to the continent, and that from these are descended no fewer than six hundred clans of Berbers.

Between the coast strip and Negroland the desert itself became thus inhabited by a race which, though it is held to have had one origin, suffered in the course of history so many invasions and infusions of new blood that it has broken into almost countlessly diverse tribes, cherishing many and widely differing traditions. Speaking in general terms, the Berbers are a white people who, having a tradition that they once were Christian, now profess Mohammedanism. Their Christianity, which they learned under the later Roman occupation, was probably very partial, and is likely to have come to them through the Copts of Egypt. They have presumably been in turn of the religion of every great invader. Speaking of them as they now exist, M. de Lauture, a French writer of much knowledge and personal acquaintance with his subject, says that the abstemiousness of these inhabitants of the desert is almost incredible. When traveling, hunting, or making expeditions they never eat or drink more than once in the twenty-four hours. A handful of dates or flour, a few sips of water, suffice for this repast.

Often it happens to them to remain two or three days without anything, and there are stories of Arabs lost in the desert for four or five days who were not even able to quench their thirst and yet survived without serious injury. I can only repeat this on M. de Lauture's authority. I know nothing of it myself, but it corroborates what I have seen of the sustaining power of the fine air of the uninhabited territories of northern Canada, where also men can endure privations which seem incredible to ordinary experience.

While the northern strip pressed thus upon the desert, the desert, there can be little doubt, pressed equally upon the fertile belt to the south. Quite indirectly the influence of Tyre and Sidon, Rome and Carthage, must have been brought to bear from the very earliest periods upon Negroland; but besides this indirect influence of pressure by a superior race along the whole course of their borders—an influence which was very potent in modifying the character of the leading black races of Negroland—there were also channels of direct influence, which remain unchanged to this day.

Until the navigation of the Atlantic ocean became general, the approach to the tropic zone of Africa was across the desert by caravan roads. Nature laid them down, and has marked by them certain spots where water may be obtained. Marmol, a Spanish writer of the sixteenth century, gives an interesting description of how these wells are preserved. "They are," he says, "walled inside with camel's bones for want of stones, and they are also covered with camels' skins lest the shifting sands should blow over them and fill them up." The natural consequence is that even when there, the walls are often hidden, and the traveler may die of thirst within a few feet of water. There are, however, on the principal routes expert local guides, who never fail to find them. It is impossible for caravans of any size to deviate from these routes. The position of the springs today is what they have always been, and it is interesting to think that the roads trodden by the caravans which this year visit Kano and Timbuctoo are the same which offered themselves to the first civilized footprints that crossed the desert. The continuity of life in these remote portions of the earth is very striking to the imagination. My husband wrote to me only one or two weeks ago of deputations sent down to him

with presents from the sultans of Sokoto and Kano and Kontagora. In reading, one might imagine it a description of embassies sent to King Solomon a thousand years before Christ, instead of to a British governor nearly two thousand years after Christ; and when we compare the progress made by the British people in the intervening period with the fate of Negroland there is some ground for understanding the relative positions which we occupy to one another.

There are two principal roads across the desert—one through Tripoli and the Fezzan, running due south toward Nigeria and taking the shape of a forked stick to rest upon Lake Chad and the Niger, the other through Morocco, running again due south toward Timbuctoo and the western end of Negroland. These two points, as a glance at the map will show, are the two narrowest points at which the desert can be crossed; for in both instances the fertile land of the coast strip runs down in important promontories into the arid sands. Both these roads were counted as a fifty days' journey from edge to edge of fertile land. It hardly needs to be said that one was the channel of eastern and the other of western influence upon Negroland.

The earliest narrative that we have in definite terms of an attempt to penetrate from the coast to Negroland by the eastern route is that given by Herodotus in his second book, where he tells how certain daring youths, sons of powerful men, were chosen by lot to explore the deserts. Being well furnished with water and provisions, they passed first through the inhabited country of the coast, then through the region of wild beasts, and after this crossed the sandy desert, making their way toward the west, till at length they saw trees growing in a plain. They were evidently in the fertile belt, and as they approached and began to eat the fruit of the trees diminutive men, less than men of middle stature, came up and led them to a city, where the inhabitants were of the same size as their conductors and black in color. By the city flowed a great river running from the west to the east, and crocodiles were seen in it. This direction of the current helps to identify the river with the Niger. Herodotus wrote this account of early African exploration 500 years before Christ, but he does not say how long before his time the expedition itself took place. Possibly another five centuries had passed. In the incident as recorded there is an indication,

which the further history of Negroland supports, that the race which now inhabits equatorial regions farther south at one time extended toward the northern edge of the fertile belt and has been pushed backward by that pressure of superior races from the desert of which I have spoken. The dwarfs whom Stanley found in the Congo forests evidently at the time of which Herodotus speaks inhabited the northern bend of the Niger. In quite ancient times the existence of different races within the belt of Negroland was established. There were evidently superior and inferior tribes, and it is interesting, though not surprising, to observe that along the whole line of the fertile belt the superior races, modified by white pressure from the north, gradually established themselves in possession of the uplands bordering more nearly upon the desert and civilization, while the inferior black races were driven back toward the then impenetrable regions of barbarism and equatorial Africa.

In the later history given to us by Arab records of every one of the superior Negro kingdoms which established themselves upon the borders of the desert, there will be found at some point in the description the phrase, "And south of this country lies the country of the Nem-Nems, or the Lem-Lems, or the Rem-Rems, or the Dem-Dems, or the Gnem-Gnems," and after the double name comes invariably the same explanation, "who eat men." In following the history of kingdom after kingdom it becomes clear that a belt of cannibalism, of which the Nyams-Nyams of the Congo may be counted among the present survivors, extended along the south of Negroland across the whole breadth of Africa. M. de Lauture takes the latitude of 10° north as forming in his day (1853) the northern limit of habitation of the debased pagan Negro. Between 10° and 17° he places the finer races, which he qualifies generally as Mussulman Negroes.

I may point out that northern Nigeria stretches north and south from 7° to 14° north latitude, and we have thus both classes of native population to deal with. The modern history of Negroland may be said to date from the period at which it accepted the Moslem religion; but the finer black races had established their domination over the inferior races and ruled by force of superior intelligence and cultivation long before that time.

The conquest of Egypt by the Persians took place in 525

B. C. The soldiers of Cambyses pressed as far as Negroland, and brought back among the spoils of victory something for which we have to thank them to this day. The peach, which I believe in our garden catalogues is always attributed to Persia, came really in its origin from Negroland. But it was not the Persians who gave it to Europe. Another conquest of Egypt took place by the Arabs 638 years after Christ, and this time conquering armies carried the fruit into Spain. It seems a trifle almost too small to allude to in comparison with the more dignified movements of history; and yet it is, I think, a striking illustration of the slow, sure march of influence, that after twelve centuries so small a thing as that "soft, sweet, delicious fruit," of which Greek historians describe the finding among the blacks of eastern Negroland, should survive the rise and fall of nations and follow the march of conquest into western Europe.

North Africa was occupied by the Arabs very shortly after they had made the conquest of Egypt, and the Berbers still inhabiting great portions of it were recognized by the Arabs as a kindred race. Musa, the Arab general who effected the permanent conquest, said of them, in describing his conquests to the Caliph: "The Berbers, O Commander of the Faithful, are of all foreign nations the people who resemble most the Arabs in impetuosity, corporal strength, endurance, military science, generosity; only that they are, O Commander of the Faithful, the most treacherous people upon earth." Notwithstanding this last qualification of their virtues, the Arabs accepted the Berbers as friends and practically as equals. They enslaved them in large numbers—hundreds of thousands—and drove many of their harried tribes to take refuge in the fertile plains of Negroland; but they also educated them, freed them, and appointed them to high commands. They married their women, and the race which for so many centuries gave civilization, not only to Spain, but through Spain to Europe, was very largely of African extraction.

It was in the year 710 that the Arabs crossed into Spain. Every one knows that Gibraltar takes its name from the circumstance, and is only corrupted by our pronunciation, from the Jebral-Tarik, or Mountain of Tarik, the general who on that occasion led the troops. Tarifa, a little farther along the coast,

also takes its name, as is well known, from Tarif, another leader of the same army. But what is not, I believe, so generally known is that both Tarik and Tarif were African Berbers converted to Islam, freed from slavery by Musa, and trained by him in military science. The army which accompanied Tarik was a Berber army, and consisted of 12,000 African soldiers, who, like himself, were freed men and converts. The Arab conquest of Spain was therefore in large part an African conquest. The same Berbers who were forced westward and northward into Spain were also forced westward and southward into Negroland, and the same capacity for high command which achieved distinguished results in Europe were brilliantly displayed in the less famous fields of equatorial Africa.

The Arab dynasty of the Omeyades, which was founded in Spain in the beginning of the eighth century, a time when the rest of Europe was sunk in the barbarism of the Middle Ages, lasted until the beginning of the eleventh century. It was succeeded by other purely African dynasties—the Almoravides, who took their rise on an island in the Senegal; the Almohades, whose original stronghold was a mountain in the Atlas chain; the Nasrites, also African; and Saracen rule was not overthrown till Ferdinand and Isabella conquered Granada in 1502. During this long period of 800 years, and especially during the earlier part of it, the cultivation, the refinement, the moral and intellectual enlightenment of southern Spain maintained a standard as much above that of the contemporary States of England, France, and Germany as these countries are now above the pagan savages of equatorial Africa.

At a time when England was still under the rule of seven Saxon chiefs, whose dress was of untanned leather and whose houses were but native huts, Cordova was a town where it was possible to walk through ten miles of lighted streets. Its palaces were supplied with every luxury that civilization could devise, warmed in the winter with hot air, cooled in the summer with the splash of fountains, fitted with bath-rooms whose hot and cold water was delivered by pipes into gold and silver basins and beautifully sculptured marble tanks. Their mosaic-paved halls were lighted in the daytime by stained-glass windows, in the evening by many hundreds of hanging lamps. There, in drawing-rooms exquisitely furnished and libraries

famous throughout the world for the magnificence of their collections, or on marble balconies hanging over matchless gardens, wit and beauty, art and science, met with a charm of social intercourse that still clings to the narrative preserved in the records of Arab history, and Cordova, with all that it contained of grace and glory, was but one of the many towns of which Arab writers have consecrated the memory. Seville, the home of music; Toledo, famous for its metal work; Almeria, an ideal manufacturing town, where, amid forty miles of surrounding gardens and groves filled with singing birds, the wonderful tissues of cloth of gold and of cloth of silver worn by the ladies of Cordova were woven on many thousand looms, and to whose harbors came fleets bearing the produce of India, China, and all the countries of the world; Valencia, known as the city of mirth; Malaga, where figs and wine were exported to the farthest East—all these towns and many more reached their zenith of prosperity under the benign rule of the Arabian caliphs. During this time the fleets of the Arabs swept the Mediterranean and furnish a brilliant illustration of the influence of sea power on history. For many hundred years Arab universities were the fountains of learning to all Europe. Apart from the high direction which they gave to science, art, literature at a time when Charlemagne, the Emperor of Western Europe, could not write, we have but to remember a few of the common things we owe to the Arabs in order to appreciate in some degree the benefits of their rule. They gave us the use of the compass; they gave us cotton; they gave us clocks; they gave us gunpowder; they gave us paper; they gave us sugar; they gave us the peach and the pomegranate. It was to an Arab epicure of the eighth century that we owe asparagus. They gave us the Arabic numerals, which any one who has tried to do a sum in Roman numerals will be in a position to appreciate and which alone must have enormously facilitated the operations of commerce. They taught us how to wash our clothes and they introduced the habit of changing them, which was even more important. The word "admiral" in our vocabulary is of Arabic derivation, so is the word "algebra," so is "cypher," so is the French word for "shirt." Numbers more could be found, showing the indelible mark which in the course of eight hundred years the Arab-African occupation of Europe has made upon

our habits of thought and life. Is it, then, to be imagined that, making as they did so deep a mark on us, they would fail to produce a profound effect on that other territory known to them as Negroland, which they overran?

The Omeyade, which was the first of the Saracen dynasties in Europe, came to an end in the early part of the eleventh century, before William the Conqueror had established Norman rule in England, and it is from about this period that we get the history of Negroland written in anything like consecutive sequence.

The whole of North Africa, including Negroland, was at this time perfectly familiar to the Arabs. The eastern end of it was still a distant country, but commercial intercourse was regular through the western route, and the historians and geographers who wrote during this and succeeding centuries give fairly full descriptions of the existing Negro kingdoms. Already that change had taken place of which I have spoken. The cannibal natives of the lower races had been driven southward, and along the northern edge of the fertile belt the Mussulman religion, where it was not fully accepted, was tolerated and even encouraged. In one of the greatest and oldest of the Negro kingdoms, known generally by the name of its capital, Ghana, but spreading westward under other names from the left bank of the upper Niger between the fifteenth and seventeenth parallels of latitude, the difficulty of the two religions appears to have been solved by having as a capital two towns, a Moslem town and a native or royal town. Both were large, extending over several miles of territory, and connected with each other by extensive suburbs. The houses were built chiefly of stone, and ebony and acacia wood were employed for the fittings. The residence of the kings was a well-built castle, thoroughly fortified, which was decorated inside with sculptures and pictures and had glass windows. There were twelve mosques in the Moslem town, all having their salaried establishment, their imaums and readers. The town appears also to have been a seat of learning, and as early as the eleventh century we are told that it was the resort of the learned, the rich, and the pious of all countries. The king, himself a pagan and devoted to his ancestral rites, was nevertheless sufficiently open-minded to allow himself to be largely governed by Mussulmans. His principal ministers were Mussulman, and for

their use one mosque was permitted in the royal town. This king, who ascended the throne in 1062, was extremely powerful, commanding an army 200,000 strong, which included a picked body of 40,000 archers. Twenty Negro kingdoms were tributary to him, and the commercial relations of the country extended through the desert to all the important towns which had by this time sprung up along the edge of the northern coast strip from Morocco to Egypt and lived chiefly on the trade with Negroland. I find in an Arab history a rather interesting description of the trading operations of a firm of merchants in Telemçan, on what is now the coast of Algiers, who did business at about this period with Negroland, chiefly in skins, ivory, and kola nuts. The firm consisted of five brothers, two of whom established themselves as merchants at Telemçan, two at a place called Aiwalatin, in the desert, and one half way, at Tafilet. The two partners at Telemçan purchased European goods for the native market; the two in the desert purchased native goods for the European market, and the one half way, at Tafilet, served as "the tongue of the balance" between the other two, acquainting them with the fluctuations of trade, the overstock of markets, &c. Their wealth, it is said, under this management increased so rapidly that it almost surpassed the limits of computation. Nor, says their descendant, writing a couple of centuries later, was this the only advantage arising from their system. The nations with whom they traded were considerably benefited by it, for it must be understood that the trade with the desert had fallen into a deplorable state before the firm of Makkara engaged in it. Merchants wholly unacquainted with the real wants of the inhabitants carried thither articles which were either of no use or no value to them, taking in exchange objects which were to them a source of profit and wealth. This even went so far that an African sovereign was once heard to say, "Were it not that I consider it a bad action, I would by God prevent these Soudan traders from stopping in my dominions, for thither they go with the most paltry merchandise and bring in return the gold which conquers the world." After the reform of the desert trade the blacks were, it is said, better and more abundantly provided with such articles as they stood most in need of. They were also furnished with goods which they had never seen before, and they obtained a better price for their returns. The African

sovereigns of the tenth and eleventh centuries had not to contend with the importation of trade gin. Otherwise this account might not unreasonably have been written today. I have no doubt that the great firm of Makkara Brothers had its contemporary critics, but for our part we may be content if the Royal Niger Company can lay claim a few generations hence to an equally satisfactory record.

But the firm of Makkara kept no monopoly, for we are told before the end of the eleventh century that in every town of Ghana there were markets frequented by merchants of all nations. Ghana itself was a great commercial center. "Here," it is said, "were to be met in quantities caravans from all parts of the world." They came from Egypt, Tripoli, Spain, Morocco, and other places. The tributaries of Ghana were not only black nations. The Berber state of Audaghost, lying northwest in the desert, paid tribute to Ghana up to the middle of the eleventh century. The capital of this State is described as a large and populous town, full of mosques and schools and elegant houses. It was surrounded by date groves. The people, who were of many mixed races, lived comfortably and were very rich. There were white women who were beautiful and charming, and among the Negresses there were excellent cooks, who made delicious dishes of macaroni and honey and other sweet things. There was a busy market, always full, and great quantities of cotton and honey were brought from Negroland. There was a very plentiful supply of gold, slaves, and amber, which constituted the principal export. In the territories of Ghana, besides this admixture of Berber people, there were the Fulani, who inhabited Mecina, and there were certain other white races, who are mentioned as descendants of the soldiers of the early military expeditions of the Arabs conducted in the seventh century. The same tradition occurs at the other end of western Negroland in Bornia. To the south of Ghana lay the country of the Lem-Lems, while to the west of it, within the Negro belt, there was a Berber kingdom which reached to the Atlantic. The King of Ghana in the eleventh century was extremely wealthy. The country was rich in gold—evidently alluvial gold, though spoken of by the Arab chroniclers as "mines"—and the custom was for the government to claim the nuggets and to leave the gold dust to the people. "Without this precaution," says a contem-

porary writer, "gold would become so abundant that it would hardly have any value." The size of the nuggets ran, according to the evidence of many writers, commonly from an ounce to a pound, but sometimes to much greater weights. One is mentioned of which the weight was thirty pounds. In a very much earlier account of an Arab military expedition into this part of Negroland about the year 730, I find it laconically stated that as spoils of victory the army got "all the gold they wanted and a few girls." In every account the abundance of gold is frequently mentioned along the whole line of the fertile belt. The kings of Ghana, contemporary with our Norman dynasty, maintained considerable state, and the descriptions given of their pageants are of no small magnificence. The people usually wore robes of cotton, silk, or brocade, according to their means, and on occasions of state plaited or intertwined their hair with gold. The King had very fine horses, which when he mounted them were caparisoned in gold, and he had also a particularly fine race of pure bred dogs, whose collars, belts, and chains were made of gold.

The next Negro kingdom to Ghana, known in the eleventh century as Tekrour, was Mussulman, and was active in promoting a holy war against the pagan nations to the south, whence was drawn a great supply of slaves. At Silla, a town of this kingdom situated on the upper Niger, cotton manufacture was active, and every house had its cotton plantation. This is mentioned in the year 1066, upward of 800 years ago, but cotton-growing may have been and probably was much older than that.

South of Tekrour there were two entirely pagan countries, in one of which salt could be sold for its weight in gold. Moving eastward from Ghana and Tekrour we come to the kingdom of Melle, one of the most important of the Negro kingdoms, which filled the territory enclosed in the bend of the Niger, where the river runs for a time east and west, and then turns south toward Nigeria. In the eleventh century the sovereign of Melle was Mussulman, but his people were still pagan. At this period his territory did not extend to the northern bend of the Niger, which was occupied by Berbers. Jenne, the town which M. Dubois describes in his interesting book on "Timbuctoo the Mysterious" as still at the present day constituting a bit of Egypt in the heart of the desert, is said by the Arabs to have been founded by pagans

in the year 800 (the year in which Egbert ascended the English throne), and was specially famed as the resort of the learned. Timbuctoo was founded by Berbers in the year 1087, about twenty-five years later than the town of Morocco, and was never sullied by pagan worship. As the march of ancient Egyptian civilization can be traced through Negroland, moving gradually from east to west, so the march of this relatively modern Arab civilization can be traced steadily from west to east. Ghana was the center of the greatest activity up to the end of the eleventh century; but after this period the activity of Ghana moved gradually to Melle. As the supremacy of Ghana declined, the kingdom of Melle grew in importance, spreading east and west and north, till in 1336 it conquered Timbuctoo, and Timbuctoo became the great center of commerce and civilization of that part of Negroland. In the middle of the fourteenth century Melle, stretching over the entire bend of the Niger and down to the pagan cannibals in the south, had become a kingdom of great consideration. Its kings were Mussulman, and maintained intercourse with the kings of northern Africa, with whom they exchanged most interesting presents, but they accepted investiture from the caliphs of Egypt. The devout among them performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, and one, Musa by name, went there about the year 1325. It is stated incidentally that his train of 12,000 carriers were all dressed in tunics of figured cotton and Persian silk, and that he took with him to provide for the expenses of the journey a sum equivalent to about £1,500,000 sterling of gold. This was carried on the backs of eighty camels. Intercourse with Egypt was at that time one of the valued privileges of the learned. Among the presents interchanged it is not unusual to find mention of rare books, and Musa on his return brought with him an Egyptian architect whom he employed to build a palace. It was in this palace, of which the windows were framed like the decorations of the Temple of Solomon, in gold and silver plated over wood, that the famous traveler, Ibn Batuta, saw his grandson about twenty-five years later. At that time the people of Melle greatly surpassed other Negroes in wealth and numbers; but while describing in some detail the magnificence of a court in which the ladies were served on pure gold, and men on occasions of state wore velvet tunics, were booted and spurred, and had all their weapons mounted in gold

or silver, Ibn Batuta says of them that what he most admired was the regard which was paid to justice, "for in this respect the Sultan regards neither small nor great." The safety of the roads also excited his admiration. Travelers, he said, could proceed anywhere alone without the least fear. To the south of Melle there was at this time the country of the cannibals, whom it was the custom to raid for slaves and to whose territory it was also the custom to banish evil-doers. A certain unjust white judge was on one occasion banished to this country, but though he lived there for four years the cannibals refused to eat him, saying that they feared he would be unwholesome.

Farther east along the fertile belt the town of Kaougha Gago or Kuka, on the middle Niger—of which the origin has been mentioned as dating back traditionally to the Pharaohs—maintained its supremacy, the rulers being Mussulman, while the neighboring country was pagan. Here, as at Ghana, the capital consisted in the eleventh century of two towns, one of which was Mussulman and the other pagan. But by the end of the fourteenth century the pagan town is no longer spoken of.

This most interesting spot was the capital of Songhay, a country described as being very fertile and rich in gold. The origin of its kings was from the East. At a later period it entirely dominated Melle, and established at Timbuctoo a dynasty about contemporary with our own Tudors, of which I wish that time permitted me to give you some account. It was here on the borders, as you see, of our own territory that Egyptian influence definitely met and overlapped with Arab. The result in the Songhay dynasty was very fine. Under this dynasty the empire which occupied the bend of the Niger extended its limits north and south and east and west, from the pagan belt of Negroland to the salt mines of Tegazza in the desert, and from the long since subjugated kingdom of Ghana to the Hausa States, which it overran. This vast territory was organized into provinces under viceroys, and admirably ruled. It was under the Songhay dynasties that Timbuctoo took the supreme place which she held for many years as "Queen of the Soudan." She became a center, not only of commerce and political activity, but of learning that rivaled the universities of Arabia and of Spain. Her rich men possessed magnificent libraries, and, in common with other important towns of the Soudan, she had excellent schools. Here

the learned of Spain and Morocco and Arabia were proud to come and share the wisdom of the natives of the Soudan, and long biographical lists have been preserved of the distinguished professors, black and white, who taught in the schools of this and neighboring towns, or enriched different departments of science, art, and literature with their labors.

In the fourteenth century the river as it turned south from Gago was described as flowing through Muli or Muri to Nupe, now a province of Nigeria. Nupe is spoken of as "the greatest district of the Soudan, the king of which is most potent;" but it was a territory closed to white men. "No white man," Ibn Batuta says, "can enter here, for if he attempts to do so they will kill him before he succeeds." The Nupes were not Mussulman, but they were of a race of great antiquity, and were at this time reputed to be clever in weaving, dyeing, metal work, and other arts.

Thus we have come gradually eastward to our own territory of Nigeria, where the Hausa States, probably of mixed Berber and Coptic origin, were founded at a period of which the narrative takes us back to mythical history. Through many conquests they have continued to occupy the territory to the north of what is now Nigeria. Biram, a town situated between Kano and Khadya, is said to be the oldest seat of the Hausa people. According to their mythical history, Biram had six legitimate children—Katsena and Zaria, Kano and Rano, Gober and Daura. These, with Biram, constitute the seven original Hausa States; and to each of them a special industry or duty was assigned, for which the geographical position of the States even now clearly indicates the reason. Gober, situated on the borders of the northern desert and in constant touch with depredating tribes, was the war chief. Kano and Rano, safely protected behind the bulwark of Gober, were ministers of industry. To this day Kano, of which the province is described as the garden of the Central Soudan, has remained the center of industry of that part of Africa. Katsena and Daura were ministers of intercourse and commerce, while Zaria, lying to the south, between the rough country of Bautchi and the rest, had as its duty to provide them with slaves, and was known as the minister of slaves. Bautchi was called equally Bushay, which in their language meant the Land of Slaves, and all the Arab historians

mention it as a place in which slaves were hunted. It appears to have formed part at one time of the pagan cannibal belt, and is celebrated as being a country from which slaves were made to carry gold. It is situated in the healthiest highlands of northern Nigeria. It has considerable tin mines, and may not improbably reëstablish in our days its historic reputation for mineral wealth. Later the Hausa States added to their number States which were described as illegitimate. They included Zanfara, Kebbi, Nupe, Gwari, Yauri, Yoruba, and Kororofa—that is, many of the principal States of Nigeria—and stretched almost to the southern coast. The Hausas were an interesting people, of whom we are far from having as yet sufficient information. Naturally a peaceful, industrious, agricultural, and commercial race, they were nevertheless obliged by constant inroads to develop a certain military power, and they are to this day, under good leadership, the best fighters of Nigeria. They have been many times conquered, but in the peculiarities which characterize them as good citizens they remain unconquerable. Their systems of law, taxation, justice, industry, have been adopted by every ruler in turn, and we regard the "legitimate" Hausa of the seven States as forming perhaps still the most valuable portion of our Nigerian populations. Of what may be termed their period of Arab civilization we know little earlier than the thirteenth century, and I believe it may be said that their highest development during this period was reached in Katsena under the Habe dynasty, which arose in the middle of the seventeenth century. Throughout these States cotton industry, dyeing, weaving, the tanning of skins, leather work, and metal work were common from the earliest times. They had also their universities and resorts for the learned, and carried on active commercial relations with the outer world.

Beyond the Hausa States the very earliest writers of the Arab period mention Bornu as a kingdom of great importance. Its territories extended to Lake Chad, and at one period it commanded the Tripoli and Fezzan route almost the whole way to Tripoli.

The Bornu people were also of Berber origin, illustrating, like the Hausas and the mixed people of Ghana and the Berbers of Timbuctoo, that pressure of the northern races upon the fertile belt of which I have spoken. Dugu appears to have been the

name of the first sultan of any modern dynasty of which we have continuous records. He reigned about 850, and toward the end of the eleventh century Bornu would seem to have been in some way the suzerain of the Hausa States. The earliest Arab writers speak of the kingdom as spreading between the Niger and Lake Chad. It also included Kanem, on Lake Chad, at that time pagan, though at a later period it accepted Islam and produced distinguished men. A black poet from Kanem is spoken of as enjoying considerable success at the Spanish court of one of the Almoravide sultans. Bornu appears as early as 1489 on Portuguese maps. In the early part of the sixteenth century their kings maintained regular diplomatic relations with Tripoli and the outer world. Bornu is generally reputed to have reached the height of its prosperity under an energetic and intelligent succession of kings in the early part of the sixteenth century. At this time, in addition to a well-organized system of political administration and great towns, with all the accompanying additions of learning and commercial activity, Bornu had a standing army equipped with muskets, for which they themselves manufactured what we should now call an inferior sort of gunpowder. This was under a certain Edris, who died in the same year as Queen Elizabeth. You may remember that on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, in 1588, the English arsenals contained chiefly bows and arrows. Under the same king the prosperity of the country and the wealth of the towns are said to have increased greatly. Leo Africanus visited Bornu about the year 1513 on business connected with the supply of horses from Barbary for the Bornu cavalry. These horses were paid for at the rate of fifteen slaves for one horse. Sometimes the merchants who supplied the horses had to stay three months, sometimes a whole year, while the king made his annual raid to the south for slaves, for he made these raids only once, at a set time of the year, and if the merchants came after the raid was over and the slaves disposed of, they had to wait for the following year. It was not in his own country that he raided, but in the pagan belt to the south. His own country was densely populated, and the king appeared to Leo Africanus to be marvelous "rich, for his spurs, his bridles, platters, dishes, pots, and other vessels whereon his meals and drink are brought to

table are all of pure gold; yea, and the chains of his dogs and his hounds are of gold also."

I spoke just now of the continuity of life in these remote places of the earth. The sad continuity of the slave traffic may be illustrated by Major Denham's experience when, as he dozed on horseback, riding in 1823 along the same Tripoli-Fezzan route by which the slaves of Bornu were presumably taken out of the country from the earliest times, he was suddenly awakened by a crashing under his horse's hoofs and found that the animal had trodden upon the perfect skeletons of two human beings, cracking their brittle bones under his feet, and by an accidental trip had separated one of the skulls, which rolled like a ball before him. The ground was constantly throughout the journey strewn with the skeletons of slaves who had died on the route; sometimes as many as a hundred, or eighty were to be counted in one place. The Arabs who formed Major Denham's escort laughed heartily at his expressions of horror, saying "they were only blacks," and amused themselves by knocking the remains about with the butt ends of their firelocks.

I have kept you already too long in speaking of these five divisions of Negroland—Ghana, Melle, Songhay, Hausa, and Bornu—in the northern portion of the Negro belt. There were many others of secondary importance, but these were the kingdoms which in turn were most directly exposed to Berber influence and rose to the most decided preëminence during what may be called our own historic times. Yet, in speaking of the purely native influences which were brought to bear upon them, it is necessary to add just a few words on the subject of the Fulani, the race with which, as rulers, we are now brought most directly in contact in Nigeria. I will not attempt to discuss the very interesting and much-vexed question of their origin. Whether Phœnician, Jew, Indian, Roman, or Egyptian, they have without doubt retained for themselves a remarkable individuality, which during the whole modern period of which we have been treating has enabled them to acquire for themselves ascendancy and power. The earliest Arab records place their home on the banks of the Senegal. In the tenth century we hear of them at Ghana, fighting and to some extent making good their position to the south. A little later they are at Melle.

Later still their influence is felt in the advanced towns of Son ghay. A Fulani woman was the mother of the principal native historian of Timbuctoo. In the fifteenth century they have acquired territory and are making good a position for themselves in Borgu. A hundred years later they have crossed the Niger, and their power is felt as far to the east as Kanem and Baghirmi. In the early years of the nineteenth century they conquered the Hausa States. It is there that we are now in contact with them in Nigeria. In dealing with them and with the Hausas we seem to be in the presence of one of the great fundamental facts of history, that there are races which are born to conquer and others to persist under conquest. The Fulani had in Africa no country which can properly be called their own, yet from the earliest knowledge that we have of them they have ruled. The Hausas, on the contrary, have always had a country of their own, but they have never sought to conquer and have generally submitted to be ruled. Yet both are persistent races, and it will be curious and interesting to see what development each will take under a rule at once stronger and more peaceful than any they have known.

I have brought this little sketch of the influence out of which west African Negroland has grown up to the period of its greatest local prosperity. We have seen Negro kingdoms along a belt of some thousands of miles, occupying in turn, through a period which extended over about 800 years, a position which may be described as the tropical reserve of the civilization of their day. They were all rich in gold, in skins, in cotton, kola nuts, amber, gums, and other raw material. At a period when the conscience of humanity had not been aroused on the subject of enslaving inferior races, they were also rich in this raw material of labor. It formed for centuries one of their most valuable exports. They all carried on an important trade with Europe and Asia. They had their large standing armies, and they enjoyed at home a very fairly high degree of intellectual, scientific, industrial, and political development.

The mystery of the decadence of peoples is among the great operations of nature for which we have no explanation. The civilization of Negroland was inspired in the first instance by Egypt. It disappeared as the power of Egypt declined. It rose again with the rise of the western Arabs; it fell with their fall.

The power of the Moors was destroyed in Spain, and the onward pressure of the at that time very partially civilized Christian nations had nothing to substitute for the highly cultivated standard of Arabian life. Gradually the African Arabs were driven out of Europe, and there began a reflex action of Europe upon Africa.

The end of the fifteenth century saw the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope. The navigation of the Atlantic became general, and a wholly new chapter of foreign influence in West Africa was initiated. The European coast colonies came into existence, but they were founded for the most part in the midst of the very lowest class of pagan natives. It is impossible for me to speak of them tonight. At the same time the higher civilization of the northern edge of Negroland was destroyed by the decadent Moors, who feeling the pressure of Europe upon their shores, overran the center of north Africa about the year 1592, and established by force of arms a purely brutal military domination. Of this also there is no time to speak,

I have endeavored, however, briefly to indicate the nature of the debt of gratitude which for so many centuries Europe has owed to Africa. Hitherto Europe has failed to pay it back. Through unfortunate circumstances and by lack of knowledge, European influence on the west coast has been exerted to little purpose. What has been done there bears no comparison which can flatter our pride with what was done by Egypt of old or the Saracens of the middle ages across the whole broad breadth of the upper Negro belt. The continent of Africa was no dark continent to them; nor need it be a dark continent to us. Our hope is now that, in following the example of our illustrious forerunners in penetrating beyond the coast and carrying British administration for the first time into the fine uplands of higher Negroland, it may be our happy fortune to initiate a new era of prosperity, and to introduce into those countries blessings of peace and justice, under which the qualities these peoples showed themselves to be possessed of in the past may ripen to a finer fruit.—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute.*

WHAT INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION IS DOING FOR THE NEGRO.

I have been asked to write on the results of the industrial training of Negroes. It is important, first, to understand what is meant by industrial training. In slavery days industrial training of a certain sort was given on the plantations. The men who received instruction in carpentry, blacksmithing, and other trades were a superior class of Negroes. This training affected their economic value. I recently looked over a bill of sale of thirty slaves, who were sold in Charleston in 1857. It was interesting to observe that the common laborer brought between $300 and $400, while carpenters brought as much as $1,065. The Negro mechanics were as a rule also superior morally. Considerable freedom was allowed them. They were often hired out by their masters, and in many cases secured their own freedom. It is an interesting fact that many of the older Negroes, who have come out of slavery and have become successful since the war, have been of that class. The industrial training which these men received was largely that of the hands alone, with little or no education of any other kind.

The sort of training which General Armstrong endeavored to give to the children of the ex-slaves, and which the Hampton school and its outgrowths are still trying to provide, is well stated by Dr. M. E. Sadler, of London, in his admirable monograph on "The Education of the Colored Race." He says:

"The new work was not to provide industrial training alone. It was to be no mere revival of the benevolently patronizing idea which had had too large a place in the plans of those who in former generations had started schools of industry for the laboring poor; nor, on the other hand, was it to provide the opposite evil—the flashy, superficial, bookish instruction of the type which was only too attractive to the colored race; nor yet again was it to be nothing more than a skillful blend of these two elements of literary and industrial productivenesss and (in the narrower sense of the words) economic well-being. General Armstrong's greatness lay in his fusing together two separate and apparently conflicting ideals of primary education—the literary ideal and the industrial ideal. He wove together the

threads of two traditions into one cord. But the power through which he did this work was a moral power. His sympathy gave insight into their weakness as well as confidence in their strength. He knew that they needed discipline, right surroundings, an atmosphere of hard work for the sake of duty, training in the bearing of responsibility, protection against the temptations of a shallow sort of politics, a new sense of the dignity of labor, the stimulus of noble example, austere restraint of the emotions, exact training in verbal expression, a morally uplifting sense of being able honestly to earn a good and respectable living by the practice of a useful trade; but, above all, leaders whom they could love and trust and admire, and the *esprit de corps* which comes from membership of a great institution devoted to other than self-regarding ends."

The kind of industrial education for which the Hampton school stands produces some very definite results. First, it develops character. The struggle toward self-support which the school requires, the regular hours of labor combined with study, military drill, and religious instruction, unite to make strong characters of the young men and women who are placed under its care. Second, it produces economic independence. No graduate of Hampton becomes a drag on the community to which he or she goes. The young men, with their knowledge of agriculture and the trades, become self-supporting citizens. The young women, with their knowledge of teaching, of cooking, of sewing, and of other household work, are eagerly sought for as instructors in public and private schools, as home-makers, or for domestic service. The graduates of such industrial schools as Hampton are not only able to help themselves, but are able to help others toward self-support. Hampton's record of returned students shows that 65 per cent of those who have learned trades are either practicing or teaching them. Eighty-seven per cent. of the school's graduates are known to be profitably employed. Many are leaders in business. A building and loan association, largely controlled by Hampton graduates, illustrates the sort of work done by many others in helping the colored people to buy lands and get homes. It commenced business in 1889 with 12 stockholders and 18 shares of stock. It has grown, until now it has 636 stockholders, owning 2,212 shares and a paid-in stock of $105,000, of which the colored people alone own $75,000.

More than $200,000 have been loaned to the colored people of the vicinity, and over 350 pieces of property have been acquired and homes built through its aid.

As showing further the results of practical industrial training like that given at Hampton, the case might be cited of a young clergyman who obtained the idea of making the Kingdom of God come in better, cleaner homes. He had a little church one mile outside the city of Portsmouth, Virginia. Here he started a model Negro settlement. With the aid of others, he bought thirty acres of land, divided it into building lots, and commenced to sell to colored people working in Norfolk and Portsmouth. When the settlement began, $500 would have bought all the property owned by the colored people there. They now own over 125 buildings, costing from $350 to $2,500 each. Over 300 colored people live in this settlement, and there has never been a saloon in the town or an arrest for crime.

In tide-water Virginia there are twelve counties where over 80 per cent of the Negro farmers own and manage their own land. In one of the counties, where the representatives of a certain industrial school are most numerous, 90 per cent of the Negro farmers own and manage their land. In this particular county, as in many others where these graduates have gone, the relations between the whites and blacks are of the best. For more than five years no Negro has gone from this county to the State penitentiary, and the migration to the cities has almost completely ceased. The following figures have recently been obtained from a representative of the United States Department of Agriculture at Washington, as showing the increase of assessed acreage owned by colored people. While this increase can not be altogether attributed to industrial education obtained in certain schools of the State, there is no doubt that these schools have had much influence in the matter. There was an increase of 435,000 acres owned by Negroes and assessed by the State of Virginia between the years 1891 and 1902. This is equivalent to an increase of 61.5 per cent. In the same period the assessed value of buildings on land had increased from $1,393,766 to $2,626,580—a gain of 88 per cent. There has been between these dates a gain of two-thirds in lands and buildings owned by colored people. It is interesting also to note that this increase of land is not among the old Negroes brought up in

slavery, but among the young who have received their training in the schools. There have been fewer migrations from the country to the cities of the State within the time mentioned among the blacks than among the whites.

It would be easy to show the effect of the industrial training of Negro girls by citing examples of improved homes where they have gone. One young woman, a graduate of one of the larger industrial schools, became a pioneer in teaching, sewing, and cooking in the public schools of her own city. She has helped to train a large number of teachers of cooking and sewing; has started mothers' meetings and village improvement societies, and is one of the teachers of the Southern Industrial Classes, by means of which lessons in cooking, sewing, gardening, and housework have been given to thousands of children in Virginia.

In a recent number of the *Atlantic Monthly* Dr. Booker T. Washington, who is a graduate of one industrial school and the founder of another, and therefore well qualified to judge of the value of industrial education, declares that it has had more influence than any other one agency in bringing together the North and the South, the blacks and the whites. He believes that the Southern and General Education Boards would never have been possible except for the industrial schools. He contends that it has drawn the attention of the people away from politics to the improvement of homes and land, a work in which whites and blacks can coöperate. In his book, "Up from Slavery," he shows how the starting of the brick-kiln by the Tuskegee school established business relations between the whites and blacks of that community; how the blacksmith and carpenter shops and printing office tended to confirm those relations, and how this industrial school, because it was of service to the community, made itself respected, and so helped in the solution of the race problem. Tuskegee's history has been repeated in a smaller way through all the South, and the Negro industrial school has thus helped to bring an answer to one of the most important questions which this or any other country has to solve—how the rich and the poor, the employer and the employé, the black and the white, can live together in harmony and mutual helpfulness.—*The Missionary Review of the World.*

A VISIT TO TUSKEGEE.

BY KELLY MILLER.

On first view of Tuskegee the visitor is apt to throw up his hands in exclamation, "What massive project! What buildings are these! What mighty works are done here!" Tuskegee can not be described. It must be seen to be believed and felt. The visitor requires much reserve and self-restraint to suppress extravagant utterance. But when the first heat of hasty enthusiasm dies away one begins to reflect that Tuskegee is not merely, not even mainly, an institution; it is an idea, whose immediate and far-reaching effect upon the race problem demands the most careful and cautious reflection. It is true that the vast majority of the American people have focussed their hope upon the Tuskegee idea as the sole beacon light amid the surrounding gloom. A careful and dispassionate analysis of all the facts and factors leads plainly to two conclusions: (1) the Tuskegee idea alone can not solve the race problem, and (2) the race problem can not be solved without the Tuskegee idea.

It is not, however, my purpose to discuss this famous institution, but the region around about it. I utilized every opportunity to study the surrounding country by making horseback and buggy trips along the several radii leading out of the town. When one speaks of Tuskegee, Booker T. Washington and his famous institution springs spontaneously to the mind. No thought is given to the town, whose Indian name suggests its ancient origin. Tuskegee is the capital of Macon county, which contains 4,000 white persons and 18,000 Negroes. It is the trade center for a large portion of the surrounding population. On Saturdays it is interesting to witness the incoming and outgoing streams of black and parti-colored humanity going for and bringing home their weekly allowance of provisions, sweetmeats, and trinkets. One may ride along the road for miles without meeting a white face. The town on Saturday is the social clearing-house, where everybody meets his friends and acquaintances and squares the social obligations of the week. There is little or no work done on Saturday in the vicinage of the town. The farmer quits the field and the mechanic his job

and hies himself to town, regardless of personal obligation or pecuniary cost. "No'n deed, I ain' goin' work terday. I'se goin' ter town, sure," is the bland and child-like response which meets the employer's earnest and persuasive appeal.

The town of Tuskegee is becoming more and more an incident of the school. The branch post-office at the institution does a larger bulk of business than the main office in town. The Tuskegee railroad has a total trackage of 5 miles, where it connects with the main line of the Western Alabama, which runs between Atlanta and Montgomery. The single passenger coach is divided into two compartments to accommodate the races. Here is a discrimination without a difference. The colored end of the car on the outgoing run becomes the white end on the home-bound trip. Frequently each compartment contains but a single passenger. The fare is 10 cents a mile. A switch of more than a mile is being built, leading into the school grounds, in order to accommodate the immense volume of travel and traffic to which the institution gives rise.

Had it not been for the Tuskegee Institute the town of Tuskegee would scarcely be heard of beyond its immediate environs, but Booker T. Washington has given it currency and fame equal to that of any other place in the South. The colored people are becoming more and more a factor in the industrial and business life of the town. A graduate of Tuskegee is one of the largest grocery dealers and owns and lives in the house of a former governor of Alabama. In general appearance of external surroundings the place is said to be in better condition than when owned by its more famous occupant.

A horseback ride through the country gives the owner a splendid opportunity to study prevailing conditions. The soil is generally thin and well exhausted. It almost makes the heart bleed to see those hard-working, honest, ignorant men wearing out soul and body upon a barren hillside which yielded up its virgin strength a half century ago and whose top soil has been washed away and can be restored only by another geologic epoch. The economic waste and destructive tendency of slavery and ignorant labor is seen throughout the whole South. Virgin forests were chased away, the top soil exhausted by a few forced crops, and the land washed into red gullies within a single decade. Within the last few years southern farmers have been resorting to the

process of terracing, which promises to arrest this lamentable destruction of soil.

The old plantation system round about Tuskegee is almost entirely broken up. The old colonial mansions, with their airy hallways and pillared porches, are rapidly falling into neglect and ruin. The vast majority of Negroes rent their farms, for which they pay an annual rental ranging from a fifth to a third of the market value of the land. It is difficult for them to buy in small tracts, as the owners do not care to have their estates broken up into such fragments. The renters have learned by long and bitter experience the impolicy of improving or beautifying the rented places. Such improvements, of course, make the land more attractive to other renters, and the landlord seizes upon them as an excuse for increasing the rental. One can tell at a glance the place of an owner from that of a tenant by the trees and flowers growing in the front yard and by the general neatness and convenience of the surroundings.

The traditional log cabin will soon be a thing of the past, and within a few years will be as extinct as the dodo or the anti-imperialist.

An interesting experiment is taking place in a settlement five or six miles to the west of Tuskegee. A land company, at the head of which is Mr. Robert C. Ogden, has purchased a tract of some 4,000 acres, subdivided it into 80-acre plats, and is selling to colored farmers on easy terms of payment. The company builds neat three and four room cottages, which both from appearance and convenience of arrangement are models of their kind. The local agent and manager is one of Mr. Washington's graduates, and the undertaking may be called an extension of the Tuskegee idea. This is perhaps the most wholesome and encouraging university extension movement in the South. The company operates a cotton gin, grist-mill, saw-mill, and a general store. The saw-mill is in full operation under colored workmen and management, and everything moves with a New England hum. The work is conducted with the skill, dispatch, and system of a Yankee enterprise.

The families are very large, the number of the children ranging from eight to twelve. The agent informed me that any two families could furnish children enough to maintain a school. Death rate is the dreaded monster of the city Negro, but has no

terrors for the black belt. The company is about to build a central school-house for its 300 or 400 children and supply the requisite number of teachers and adequate equipment. This will be a consolidation of several local schools, and will hold sessions of seven or eight months. Although this enterprise has been in operation for only a short time, yet it bids fair to prove a success and to justify the double incentive of philanthropy and 5 per cent. The experiment is of vast significance. If it succeeds we have a practicable, manageable method of introducing the light into darkest America.

It was my good fortune to have opportunity to study an interesting instance which points to the possibility of independent and unaided development. One fine morning, with a companion who was also interested in things sociological, I mounted a fine roadster. After we had gone some six or seven miles we began to look around for the great Alabama quencher of thirst, the luscious watermelon. We approached a newly built farm-house with four rooms and a separate kitchen. Beautiful flowers were growing in the front yard. Fruit trees had been newly planted. There was a good vegetable garden and pigs, chickens, and children were in plentiful evidence. A black man was plowing with a well-groomed mule, and the cotton, corn, and cane were as fine as any we had seen that morning. On asking if we might secure a watermelon a broad grin at once assured us of a glad welcome. "Yas; go up to de house an' ax de ole 'oman. Dey's some good 'uns up dere." This he said and nothing more, but kept on diligently at his work, which seemed to absorb his whole soul. As we came to the house we were met by a black woman, barefooted and smoking a pipe. She reluctantly withdrew the pipe from her mouth, gave us seats in rocking chairs on the porch and in an incomprehensibly short time produced as fine a watermelon as will be grown in Alabama this year. While indulging in this luscious refreshment we began to ply questions to our black hostess. We found her to be a woman of remarkable intelligence as concerns the range of topics and interests with which she had to deal. She told us how she and her husband had toiled early and late to pay for 120 acres of as good land as there is in the neighborhood. This had been done while raising a family of eight children.

Last year, with the assistance of one tenant, they raised 18 bales of cotton, 200 gallons of syrup, and a cribful of corn, of whose contents she was not certain, except that it was all they needed. They raised all their own truck and garden produce, as well as hogs to furnish their meat. They never run a bill at any store, but sometimes borrow money to supply their tenant. For the use of this money they pay 12½ per cent interest. This unlettered black woman (she was not ignorant) knew the probable yield of cotton per acre as well as its selling price, the value of land in the community, and, in short, could give intelligent and adequate answers to all our questions. She was as proud of her possessions as a little boy of a pair of red-top boots. They had over and over again refused $1,500 for their holdings. She informed us: "I wurks awful hard, but I don' mine, kase I sees what I'se workin' fur." In this one sentence, uttered by this untutored African woman, lies the whole of the philosophy and the ethics of the labor problem. The only way to stimulate and inspire the man with the hoe is to imbue him with a hope.

These people are getting ready to send their two oldest children to Tuskegee. It has seldom been my good fortune to see a man so thoroughly in love with his work. On asking if he attended the farmers' conferences at Tuskegee he replied: "No, dey's been arter me to come; but dey kin only show you how to wurk an' save and have somethin'; I'se done larned dat. Tain' no use fer me ter 'ten'." When I commented upon his great industry and love for work, he responded: "You see, I don' no nuthin' else; a man orter do whut he no', orter'n he?" Of a truth there is much philosophy on an Alabama plantation.

Here is a poor unlettered man, with an equally ignorant spouse, who, without outside help or guidance, has by dint of his own industry dug $1,500 out of the thin and sandy soil of Alabama. He has an independent spirit and knows of the zest of ownership. He can read his title clear, if not to mansions in the sky, at least to Alabama real estate, which is more tangible and assuring. He is not personally oppressed. Perhaps he does not see a white man once a week, and yet he feels deep down in his bones the wrongs and cruelties heaped upon his race. This is a type case of what is taking place in thousands of instances throughout the black belt. Have we not here a most hopeful and encouraging indication?

It would be a crime to induce such a man to move to the city, where he could only dig in a sewer and live in an alley, thus crushing both body and spirit; but would his children not stand a better chance for education and general betterment? Let us see. The great leaders of the Negro race, from Fred. Douglass to Booker Washington, have come from the log cabin. How many have come from the city alley?—*The Evening Star.*

LIBERIA'S NEW PRESIDENT.

Liberia's new President is Arthur Barclay. His career is most interesting. It is marked by a line of splendid and successive achievements, beginning from 1865, when but a lad of tender years he emigrated to this country with his parents, to the present, when he, amid the approving shouts and applause of his countrymen, accepted the highest gift that the people of this country can bestow.

Mr. Barclay was born July 31, 1854. Bridgetown, Barbados, was the place of his nativity. There he attended the grammar school until his eleventh year, when he emigrated to this country with his parents in the brig *Cora*. It will be remembered that in this emigration there were three hundred and forty-seven souls, many of whom are yet alive, and had the rare pleasure of witnessing the inauguration of their familiar friend and shipmate to the exalted post of the Presidency. Young Barclay's school preparation in Barbados paved the way for his easy entrance into the preparatory department of Liberia College. Applying himself faithfully to his studies, he graduated in due course of time from the collegiate department, under the presidency of Dr. Johnson, in 1873. His educational equipment and the genial and courteous qualities with which he is gifted by nature, and the pressing needs of the country for young men of his caliber, opened many doors to him and pressed him into public service.

He filled with credit and with marked ability the following public positions: Private secretary to President Roberts, 1873–1876; principal of the preparatory department of Liberia College, 1877–1881; founder and associate editor of the *Observer*,

1878–1883; chief clerk of the House of Representatives, 1876–1884; chief clerk of the common council of Monrovia, 1880–1887; judge of the court of quarter sessions, 1883; subtreasurer of Montserrado county (first created), 1886–1892; Postmaster General, 1892–1894; Secretary of State, 1894–1896; Secretary of the Treasury, 1896–1903; mayor of the city of Monrovia, 1892–1902: vice-consul for Belgium, six years; special commissioner to Europe, associated with the late Hon. J. C. Stevens to restore the credit of Liberia, 1898; also in 1901, when associated with Chief Justice Z. B. Roberts and Senator A. B. King, to arrange for a settlement and demarcation of the northeastern boundary; professor of mathematics in Liberia College, 1892–1896, and in law and languages, 1900–1903; President of Liberia, 1904.

Mr. Barclay's career has much in it for the young men of Liberia to study and emulate. As a boy he sold salt in the streets of Monrovia, and thereby helped himself to secure a livelihood and an education. He is therefore a living example of industry and perseverance, and demonstrates the possibilities that are within the reach of every youth of this country who earnestly strives for success.

In private life Mr. Barclay has ever been active. He is a lawyer of acknowledged ability, ranking *primus inter pares*. In 1884 he became the senior member of the firm of Barclay & Sherman, auctioneers until the present, but as a silent partner. He is a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Monrovia, serving as vestryman and superintendent of the Sunday school. In May, 1903, he married Mrs. Florence A. King, widow of the late Senator A. B. King. In private as well as public life he is an attractive figure, the embodiment of honor and gentility.

Mr. Barclay's long and unbroken years of public service in the country and his thorough acquaintance with men and affairs in Liberia eminently fit him for the difficult duties of his responsible office. He comes at a momentous period in the life of the Republic, and from all indications he seems the logical and providential man to direct the affairs of state just at this juncture in the nation's life.

We sincerely trust that the elements of strength and statesmanship which have served him so admirably in the past will be ever at hand in his larger and more delicate responsibilities,

and that the new and interesting policy he announces in his masterly inaugural address, if heartily concurred in by his official supporters and carried out, will yield such results as shall be of far-reaching and permanent good to the country.—*The African World.*

BANQUET TO DR. BLYDEN—WEST AFRICANS HONOR A TEACHER.

The West Africans now resident in London met at the Holborn restaurant to do honor to their distinguished countryman, Dr. Edward Wilmot Blyden, and the occasion was remarkable from many standpoints, not the least important being the very high standard of the many thoughtful utterances of the speakers who took part in the proceedings. The chair was occupied by the Hon. J. D. Summerville, Vice-President of Liberia, who was accorded an exceptionally warm reception, this being his first visit to this country.

Dr. Hayford read a number of letters of apology from several prominent men, who regretted that, owing to other engagements, they were unable to be present, but who cordially approved of the object of the gathering. Among those from whom letters and telegrams of regret were received were the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, Sir Harry Johnston, Sir Alfred Jones, Mr. John Holt, Mr. Frank Swanzy, Mr. G. W. Neville, and others. The chairman addressed the gathering as follows:

"GENTLEMEN: I thank you for the honor you have done me, in asking me to preside over this meeting, the object of which is to do honor to a distinguished African and a citizen of Liberia. The occasion, I am sure, is one which will give pleasure to every son of Africa who shall hear of the proceedings of this evening."

The Rev. Dr. Hayford, in proposing the toast of the evening, namely, the health of Dr. Blyden, said: "Dr. Blyden is well known all over the world, yet, though he is undoubtedly a very great man, some of our younger people do not seem to know in what his greatness consists. He has written a good deal. Within the last few days I have been refreshing my memory in regard to some of his work. I wish just to go over some of the facts of his life as they appear in the introduction to his book, written

by Sir Samuel Lewis, whose recent death we all deeply deplore. Dr. Blyden was born in the island of St. Thomas. Well, I do not know that even Dr. Blyden would like me to say how long ago that took place; but you can see he is now getting on in years. Well, when he was thirteen years of age he wanted to be admitted into a school in the United States. There was a great deal of prejudice against his admission—color prejudice, which has not yet disappeared—and, in consequence, he was advised to go to Liberia and study there, where the Presbyterian Board of Missions was thinking of opening a high school. So successful was he that at length he became head of the institute. Later he became also professor in the Liberian College. Subsequently he rose to be Secretary of State, and then minister plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James. Meanwhile he studied Arabic and became an accomplished Arabic scholar. In 1878 he was made an honorary member of the Athenæum Club. In 1880 he was created a Fellow of the American Theological Association, in 1882 he became corresponding and honorary member of the Society of Science and Letters of Bengal. In 1884 he was made vice-president of the American Colonization Society. He won the degrees of M. A. and LL. D. in different American colleges.

"These facts will give you an idea of the man we are endeavoring to honor tonight. He is one who has always stood for his race and for whatever is good in connection with humanity. As Dr. Watts would say, 'Wherever truth was to be found, no matter among friend or foe, he was ready to avail himself of that truth.'"

Dr. Blyden, in responding to the toast of his health, said:

"Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I am very much obliged to my friend, Dr. Hayford, for the kind manner in which he has proposed my health, and to you, gentlemen, for the cordial manner in which you have responded. Dr. Hayford has reviewed what he believes to be my teaching, but for material he has gone back nearly thirty years; but in this world if men live they grow. He ought to have quoted from my last address, delivered on June 26, about two months ago, before the African Society. These are the views I am now teaching. I have, I hope, gone beyond what I wrote in 1877; yet, as Sir Wilfred Lawson said on one occasion when defending Mr. Gladstone against the

accusation of changing his mind, 'I do not know but one perfect thing in this world, and that is a perfect fool!'

"It is not a matter of trifling interest that in these days of European activity in Africa, when from every point of the compass the country is being invaded by alien exploiters; when philanthropic, political, commercial, and scientific agencies are busying themselves with the affairs of the natives—I say it is not a matter of trifling interest that some of Africa's children should assemble in the metropolis of the British Empire to give expression, with one of their fellow-countrymen as a central object, to the feelings with which they regard intervention in the affairs of the fatherland.

"Your little entertainment tonight, gentlemen, will not be in vain if you succeed in impressing upon the minds of the British public, and upon Europeans generally, that you are not indifferent to the events—some of them startling enough—attending the incursion of alien influences into your country, which must for weal or woe seriously, and perhaps forever, affect its destinies; that you avail yourself of this opportunity not only to acknowledge the obligation of the race to those who are ready and willing to help us, but also to venture to say something for truth and justice.

"Our country has been partitioned, in the order, I believe, of Divine Providence, by the European powers, and I am sure that in spite of all that has happened or is now happening or may yet happen this partition has been permitted for the ultimate good of the people and for the benefit of humanity generally. There is no partiality in the power that makes for righteousness. The scales are held in even balance, and the victory is ultimately not with vulgar might, but divine right. The dice of the gods, it is said, are always loaded.

"We have heard melancholy rumors of the treatment accorded to our people in the Congo by their alien rulers, and we have heard also of the efforts made by individuals in England, in the spirit of their ancestors, to have those grievances redressed. We are thankful for their efforts, which have brought forth an elaborate defense from the Belgian authorities. But in studying that defense, which we were bound to do, with an earnest desire to hear the truth on the other side, we are con-

fronted at the outset with the following candid but disquieting utterance:

"'Belgians, neither by taste nor by temperament, are inhuman or cruel; they would be foes to any regime offering violence to the natives; and, on the other hand, they have no wish to be in Africa the instruments of the policy of some dreamers, whose idea is to leave native populations to wallow in idleness—the mother, as has been said, of every vice—without profiting by the wealth which nature has bestowed upon them.'

"The character of an administration is derived from the feelings at the back of it, from the principle it has laid down for itself. The idea conveyed and implied in the last part of the sentence just quoted is that the native will not work, and that he should be made to work. Such a principle is not only liable to abuse, but it has been over and over again abused, to the detriment of real progress and the permanent interests of humanity. The Spanish discoverers of America carried out this principle until the whole race of Caribs in the West Indies were destroyed. The hidalgos of Castile laid down a policy which they believed to be the only one possible in dealing with the native races of the newly discovered country. The stories of Columbus, Cortes and Pizarro illustrate human nature when influenced by theories of its own invention and with unlimited power to carry them out.

"Indolence was the staple charge brought by the Spaniards against the aborigines of America. They will not work, it was said, and they should be made to work. But, as I remarked in my recent address in Liverpool, indolence is not the peculiarity of any race. No man works without motive. So far as Africa is concerned, the natives have but few wants; they live in a genial climate, they possess a sufficient if not abundant supply of food. Absolute poverty is impossible among them. They care not for gold or silver except for personal ornaments. To those not brought into contact with European customs, silver and gold confer neither rank nor power. For themselves, therefore, they have few motives to toil; and it will take a much more cogent argument than persuasion or denunciation to convince these people that it is their bounden duty to subject themselves to distressing toil that the foreign invaders of their country might enrich themselves and live at ease.

"I know that what is called progressive civilization can not be introduced into Africa without European intervention, but it would be a sad calamity for the natives, as well as for their exploiters, if they should be consigned to a harsh and inhuman discipline in order to be taught the advantages of civilization. Those who sow trouble and war in Africa are not, as a rule, the poor Africans, who mind their own business and till their scanty acres, but those—and there are not a few—who seek for the bubble reputation at the cannon's mouth, and those also who, in the name of civilization, and blind with covetousness, dream of nothing but exploiting the bodies and souls of their weaker fellow-creatures in order 'to profit by the wealth which nature has bestowed upon them.'

"But what shall the harvest be? There is nothing more clearly taught in history, if men will read with their eyes open, than this, that Nemesis impends equally over guilty nations and guilty individuals. History ever repeats itself. There are few more tragic stories than that of the conquest of America by Spain, so there is no more painful spectacle than the modern condition of Spain. She has been bereft of all the countries she conquered in the Western hemisphere. The mines of Peru are no longer hers, and the Gem of the Antilles has been wrested from her grasp. The beautiful and salubrious Canaries remain to her, the healthiest spots, it is said, in the world, but they have been rescued from poverty and distress, from indigence and obscurity, by the intelligence and enterprise of an Englishman.

"By a mysterious law in the progress—in the evolution—of humanity, it must needs be that offenses come, but woe to that man through whom they come.

"The West Indies were once the scene of a brilliant prosperity, but they were also the scene of unbridled rapacity and unhindered oppression and injustice. Today they are almost forsaken. Efforts are being made by British enterprise and patriotism to rehabilitate them; but energy, enterprise, and capital are lacking to them, and even nature herself seems unpropitious to any effort for the resuscitation. Volcanoes, earthquakes, and hurricanes are the instruments by which they are being reminded of the crimes and atrocities which in past times desecrated those fair islands. A hundred years ago England was in the throes of a conflict for delivering them from the guilt of the slave trade;

today England is in the agony of endeavor to save the islands from the consequences of that guilt.

"With regard to the Congo question, we have the assurance of a prominent and faithful friend in Africa, in touch with the authorities of the Congo Free State, that matters where unsatisfactory will receive amelioration; that where blunders, which, it is said, are worse than crimes, may have been committed, there will be rectification. It is nothing that Africans should speak in terms of praise of Sir Alfred Jones. From them praise comes to him as a tribute rather than as an offering; and when he takes a position on any African question, it is deliberately assumed. It is therefore not only consistent with our conception of his character, but courteous and wise to give his opinion the most careful consideration. He is disposed to give the utmost credit for upright intentions and benevolent aims to those responsible for the administration of the Congo Free State. This is at once a generous and reassuring attitude, and removes the menacing aspect of the situation from the minds of thinking Africans.

"Now, let us turn to our own immediate affairs at home, in which it is in our power to play a useful part. In looking at the history of the natives of the British colonies of West Africa since their contact with civilization, it must be remarked that there has been among them in certain departments a gradual and steady increase of sound knowledge or information outside the aboriginal scope, and a relative diminution of ignorance on certain elementary matters. On the other hand, there has been evident a hindrance to the normal and healthy development of the people, growing out of the pressure of an alien civilization. The civilized centers of Sierra Leone, the Gambia, and Liberia are hardly in touch with the aborigines, as these settlements were founded by Africans foreign to the localities, who, out of touch with the indigenous inhabitants, could hardly be welded into one with them. Some of them, owing to the smattering which they received of European culture, thought themselves better and wiser than their aboriginal ancestors—despised the rock whence they were hewn, and the hole of the pit whence they were digged. Hence came weakness, decay, inefficiency and general sterility.

"But I am glad to be able to say that I have noticed recently among thinking natives a reaction against all this—a feeling that we must get back to the standpoint of our fathers—that, loosed from our ancestral moorings, we are drifting into mistakes and errors fatal both to physical and intellectual prosperity.

"There are broad principles of human nature which men of all races recognize and by which they are guided; but there are also idiosyncrasies which apply only to sections of humanity, and these must be specially studied by all who would lead or influence for good any particular race or people.

"Now, gentlemen, you who have done me the honor to ask me to come here tonight are certainly among the leaders of your people. You have had access to European culture. You should be the leaders of action and the leaders of thought among them. My message to you tonight, therefore, is to school yourselves to look upon life from the standpoint of your own nationality. With your study of English history and English institutions unite the study of the institutions and customs of your people. Thinkers and philanthropists in this country are trying to get nearer to Africa and to understand the race. You must help them. The African Society, founded in memory of Miss Kingsley, has been organized for this very purpose—to become the exponent of your views and the expounder of African institutions. Do all you can to make that society a success. It has an African among its vice-presidents and another on its council board. I pray that you may be gifted with the moral and mental grace to see clearly and pursue consistently the path of duty, of preservation, of prosperity, of dignity, and of genuine respectability for your people without reference to any alien theories, especially those which we are now too clearly discovering do not for us make for growth and usefulness, but are beset with perils and attended with weakness. We must all enter earnestly and intelligently upon the study of alien customs brought among us, comparing them with the customs of our fathers, with the view of resisting the one so far as they conflict with our true interests, and strengthening the other so far as they conduce to our permanent welfare, always keeping that great truth in mind that 'the life is more than meat and the body than raiment.'

"We must strive to cultivate the better sense for Africa which our fathers possessed—a sense superior to transient interests and foreign glitter, which for us are derogatory aberrations. We must not barter the sacredness and veneration which hang over and sanctify the tombs of our fathers for the glamour of alien popularity. All is not gold that glitters. Only by taking these things to heart can you become the guides, the guardian angels, of the people whom, because of your superior advantages, you should lead and influence.

"Now as to our political relations. The gift of the African does not lie in the direction of political aggrandizement. His sphere is the church, the school, the farm, the workshop. With us the tools are the proper instruments of the man. This is why our country has been partitioned among the political agencies of the world—the Japhetic powers—for they can best do the work to be done in the interest of the temporal as a basis for spiritual advancement of humanity. The African and the Jew are the spiritual races, and to them political ascendency among the nations of the earth is not promised. It was Mr. Renan, the great French agnostic, who said, 'The fate of the Jewish people was not to form a separate nationality. It is a race which always cherishes a dream of something that transcends nations.' This truth will stand, though one cannot help sympathizing with the intense and glowing patriotism of Mr. Zangwill as described in the *Daily News* the other day.

"Then as Africans we must sympathize with and assist the powers that be, as ordained of God, whom he will hold to a strict accountability for their proceedings. We can not alter this arrangement, whatever our opinion as to the rudeness and ruggedness of the method by which the human instruments have arrived at it. It is a fact. Let us, then, to the best of our ability, assist those to whom has been committed rule over our country. Their task is not an easy one. They are giving direction to a state of things that must largely influence the future. As conscientious men, they are often in perplexity. The actual rulers of the British West African colonies are today an exceptional class of men; and in keeping with the spirit of the times and in the critical circumstances in which they labor, they are doing their very best under the guidance of a chief in this country of large sympathies and a comprehensive grasp of situations.

"It is a fortunate thing, for example, without intending any invidious distinction, to have an officer of so firm a hand and so enlightened a capacity as he who administers the government of Lagos, though I can not say I understand why, if reports are true, he has suggested the placing of restrictions upon the freedom of newspapers in that colony. I believe that as a general principle the interference of government with the organs of public opinion is seldom justifiable or wise. The suggestion of the governor is described by the Lagos papers as fallacious statesmanship, no proof having been forthcoming that the utterances of the local press have in any way interfered with the tranquility of the colony. Perhaps, after all, it may be deemed inadvisable to enforce the proposed restraint.

"But Sir William MacGregor has done a great deal to encourage the interest of the people in their own wholesome customs and to bring them back to their native integrity and aboriginal self-respect and self-reliance."

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF LIBERIA.

Within the last five years the educational progress of Liberia has been rapid, and today conditions will compare favorably with those of any country with similar opportunities. The credit for this gratifying situation is due primarily to the interest and efforts of the officials of the Liberian government, aided by the American Colonization Society, Washington, D. C., the New York Colonization Society, and the Boston board of the College of Liberia. These several forces have directed the educational system of the Republic with such intelligent effort that in many sections the public school system is equal in effectiveness to that of many sections of the United States.

In the towns of Monrovia, Clay-Ashland, Cape Palmas, Edina, and Greenville, the schools will compare favorably with some of the American city primary schools. In every civilized settlement there is a government school. It is now proposed to open a school in every large native settlement near the cities.

Liberia College was closed for two or three years prior to 1898. The legislature of that year passed an act making a liberal appropriation for its support and empowered the local board to

resume work, and the college was reopened in 1899. Its work has gone on improving each year, until now it has four regular college classes. The senior class, to be graduated soon, is composed of six most promising Negro youths. The sophomore class contains six young women, daughters of prominent families. These are the first females ever entered at Liberia College. The entire number of students in the college is 160, of which 110 are in the preparatory department.

In addition to the schools conducted by the government, a number of educational institutions are conducted by the representatives of various churches and societies of the United States and other countries, among which are those of the Protestant Episcopal Church, at Cape Palmas and Cape Mount; the Methodist Episcopal Church, at Monrovia and at White Plains; the Lutherans, at Muhlenburg Station, on the St. Paul River, and those of the Presbyterians, Baptists, and African Methodist Episcopal Church.

The one thing lacking to complete the system is a first-class industrial school, where experiments in agriculture, dairying, cattle raising, etc., could be made. Such an institution would be far reaching in its effect on the advancement of the African people.—*James Robert Spurgeon, Monrovia, Liberia.*

NATIONAL NEGRO BUSINESS LEAGUE—MEETING AT INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA.

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT, BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.

"The National Negro Business League comes together in Indianapolis for its fifth annual gathering. I am sure that I do not exaggerate when I add that this is by far our largest and I think will prove our most successful convention. The officers and members of the national organization are most grateful to the various local committees and the local press for the very satisfactory preparations to which the notable success of this annual meeting is so largely due.

"This organization had its origin in the city of Boston four years ago in a simple endeavor to bring together the members of our race who in different portions of the country are engaged

in business and commercial enterprises, however small and simple such efforts might be; to bring these men and women together for the purpose of mutual acquaintance, exchange of experiences, stimulation, and encouragement.

"I have felt a special satisfaction in being connected with this body, because it is composed of men and women who have proved their ability to succeed, to do things. It is composed of doers, not mere whiners and complainers; of men and women who come here to describe their successes, not to read abstract essays or to give abstract advice. An inch of progress is worth a yard of complaint. When there is agitation, wild discussion, and much that is discouraging in the very atmosphere, it is a great thing for a race, like an individual, to keep itself self-possessed, calm, and unmoved. Calmness and self-confidence in the midst of untoward circumstances will go far in winning success for us and our people.

"I hope we will permit no influence to cause us to depart from the fundamental ideas upon which the organization was first started. This League is composed of men who do not overlook the wrongs we suffer, but who, nevertheless, have abiding confidence in our future. This body does not attempt to be a 'cure-all' for every evil that our people suffer. The race has an interest in the educational, the religious, and the political life of our country. There are other organizations that have to do with all of these things, and with such organizations we are glad to coöperate; but the National Negro Business League confines itself to industrial, business and commercial progress. In this direction we believe that there is a great future for our race. Our economic growth will go far toward removing the feeling, I might almost say the fear, that exists in some quarters regarding us. No people ever got upon its feet and obtained the respect and confidence of the world which did not lay its foundations in successful business enterprise.

"Business, commerce, ownership of property, I repeat, do not embrace all the interests of our people, but one can not find to-day a race or a nation that stands erect, secure in the appreciation, respect, and confidence of the world, that has not had its foundation in ownership of the soil, in bank accounts, in habits of thrift and economy, and in business enterprise. This does not mean that we should neglect or overlook the higher things

that come through education and religion. However, we must learn to believe in small things. Through the experiences and encouragement that come from having conducted a small business well and successfully, we can lay the foundation for larger and nobler achievements.

"It is well that this league assembles at this time in a northern city. The Negro population of so many of our northern States and cities is increasing at such a rapid rate that prudence directs us to face frankly the problems that are likely to grow out of our presence and influence. In some of our northern cities the Negro population has more than doubled itself within a decade. The question arises whether or not our people are increasing their usefulness to these northern communities as fast as their numbers multiply. Increase of numbers without increase of usefulness will in the case of any people, regardless of color and race, prove in the end hurtful and embarrassing. It is for such bodies as this business league to keep constantly before our people the fact that only by their thrift, their skill, their success in every branch of industry and business—in a word, only by their added and growing usefulness to the community, can they make their presence desired and ever sought. We should seek in every way and everywhere to make ourselves a potent and helpful part of the industrial life of every community in which we dwell. Organizations like this, as well as those of philanthropic and religious motives, should do what they can to stimulate black men and women not to become, by reason of idleness and crime, a dead weight upon any community.

"Through the influence of this and similar organizations, another danger that may threaten a small element of our people can be averted,—the evil of parting with their votes for a price. Wherever such practice obtains, even in the smallest degree, it should be met with the severest condemnation of both leaders and masses. The right to the franchise has been purchased at too dear a cost for any man to set a money value upon it. The man who does so, be he black or white, is unworthy to bear the name of American citizen. In the degree, however, that our taxable property increases this gross temptation will cease to exist. It is not, as a rule, the man who operates a large business or the man who pays a large tax in the community

whose vote is feared. It is the floating class, with no fixed occupation or income, whose vote presents an element of weakness and danger.

"I have spoken frankly concerning the duty of such of the Negro people as reside especially in northern communities. Now, I shall be equally frank as to what I consider the duty of the white race. I have never failed at any cost to call the attention of my race to what I consider their weak points, and, like other races, mine is far from perfect. But let me add that much in the way of idleness, crime, and poverty in connection with the life of my people in the North grows out of the fact that so many of the industries and avenues of business, so many of the opportunities for earning a living, are closed against them. Often it is easier in a northern city to beg money than to find an opportunity to earn it. The facilities to spend money are wide open, but the avenues of earning it are too often closed because of race or color. We can in a large measure overcome this disadvantage by a constant appeal for fair play, by proving our usefulness, our ability to do a thing that the world needs done as well or better than any one else; and, in the last analysis, we must ourselves learn to create out of the primary sources of commerce and wealth—lands, minerals, wood, leather, cotton, and water—the occupations whereby we can make places for ourselves and thus prove our indubitable worth and ability.

"I am aware of the fact that there is much in relation to us that is plainly unjust and at times discouraging, but we should never despair. Never should we permit the wrongs we suffer to make us overlook the opportunities we enjoy. The mere assertion of rights never saves any man or any race. The world honors and respects a people who, despite disadvantages, go hourly forward in substantial, constructive effort.

"With some knowledge of the opportunities and conditions confronting black men and women in different parts of the world, I do not hesitate to say that, all matters considered, we have in this country, taken as a whole, North and South, as good an opportunity to work out our salvation as in any part of the globe, and under all the circumstances and conditions no people could have done more toward responding to the demand of a high and progressive civilization than ours has done.

"Finally, let us never lose faith in our country or in ourselves. In every part of the Republic let us cultivate a reasonable pride of race. We should not fail to let it be known that we are as proud of our race as the white man is of his. In proportion as we make progress in education, religion, and business, racial pride will spread and increase."—*The New York Age.*

THE RACE PROBLEM.

VIEWS OF DISTINGUISHED MEN OF THE AFRICAN RACE ON THE GREAT QUESTION.

As contributions to a knowledge of how the Negro looks at the problem which is labeled with his name, though it is after all a problem in which the other seven-eighths of the population of the country may be considered to have a paramount interest, these seven papers by seven educated Negroes are valuable. The writers are perhaps the Negroes best known outside of the "awful veil," as William E. B. Du Bois, one of the seven, calls the color line, and it is instructive to observe that they do not agree, and further to observe that some of them say hard things about Booker T. Washington. Mr. Washington himself, however, writes the leading article—an exceedingly brief, diplomatic, and temperate presentation of his well-known views.

Du Bois, the representative of the Negroes of northern education, the persistent and even clamorous advocate of "higher learning" for his race, offers a paper much longer, in which the praiseworthy restraint which characterized his recent book, "The Souls of Black Folk," is forgotten in regrettable measure. This Du Bois, as his fellow-contributor, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, says, is "essentially a poet."

It is plain, too, in this paper, as in the recent book just mentioned, that Du Bois looks to ultimate amalgamation. Everybody knows the attitude of the White South toward that solution.

Mr. Washington explicitly declares that he sets no limits to the attainments of the Negro in arts, in letters, or statesmanship. "I plead," says he, "for industrial education and development for the Negro not because I want to cramp him, but because I

want to free him." He speaks further of the fact that the training of slavery (curse though he hastens to say that slavery was) left the negro at the end of the war "in possession of nearly all the common and skilled labor of the South," and he adds that for nearly twenty years afterward "the value of the industrial education given by the plantations was overlooked." Hence the present generation of negroes largely ignorant of how to do any useful thing, hence also the crying need of the work for which Tuskegee stands.

The title of the article by William E. B. Du Bois, of the Negro university (so called) at Atlanta, is "The Talented Tenth." His text is that the Negro race, like all races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men. "The problem of education among Negroes must first of all deal with the talented tenth. It is the problem of developing the best of the race that they may guide the mass away from the contamination and death of the worst in their own and other races."

"Do you think if the leaders of thought among the Negroes are not trained and educated thinkers that they will have no leaders? On the contrary, a hundred half-trained demagogues will still hold the places they so largely occupy now, and hundreds of vociferous busybodies will multiply. You have no choice. Either you must help furnish this race from within its own ranks with thoughtful men of trained leadership or you must suffer the evil consequences of a headless and misguided rabble."

Having done with the rhetoric of which we have spoken above, Du Bois goes into statistics to show what the Negro colleges and such colleges in the North as receive Negroes have already done in the way of training teachers and preachers to be leaders of the race. He shows further that the supply of Negro teachers is still insufficient, and says that "there are in the United States thirty-four institutions giving something above high-school training to Negroes and designed especially for this race." Then he adds that six institutions—"Atlanta, Fisk, Howard, Shaw, Wilberforce, and Leland—are the important Negro colleges so far as actual work is and number of students are concerned;" which enumeration rather produces the undesigned effect of making the reader think that the Negro is pretty well equipped for getting the Latin, Greek, mathematics, philosophy, and pedagogy to

which Du Bois attaches so much importance as civilizing agents. But it is added that these colleges are of lower grade than the average New England college.

The next paper, by Charles W. Chesnutt, is on "The Disfranchisement of the Negro." Chesnutt is of opinion that the people of his race, though "heavily handicapped, have made such rapid progress that the suspicion is justified that their advancement, rather than any stagnation or retrogression, is the true secret of the virulent southern hostility to their rights, which has so influenced northern opinion that it stands mute and leaves the colored people, upon whom the North conferred liberty, to the tender mercies of those who have always denied their fitness for it."

"The word 'Negro,' where used in this paper, is used solely for convenience. By the census of 1890 there were 1,000,000 colored people in the country who were half, or more than half, white, and logically there must be, as there are, so many who share the white blood in some degree as to justify the assertion that the race problem in the United States concerns the welfare and status of a mixed race. Their rights are not one whit more sacred because of this fact; but in an argument where injustice is sought to be excused because of the fundamental differences of race, it is well enough to bear in mind that the race whose rights and liberties are endangered all over this country by disfranchisement at the South are the colored people who live in the United States today, and not the low-browed, man-eating savage whom the southern white likes to set upon a block and contrast with Shakespeare and Newton and Washington and Lincoln.

"Despite and in defiance of the Federal Constitution, today in the six Southern States of Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia, containing an aggregate colored population of about 6,000,000, these have been to all intents and purposes denied, so far as the States can effect it, the right to vote."

Details are given of the provisions in the different States by which this result is accomplished.

Chesnutt upbraids the Supreme Court for its inaction in the matter of these constitutions so dreadful in his eyes; he wants

Congress to reduce southern representation; he wants the northern Negroes to keep up a great cry, and he concludes:

"But it will be, after all, largely a white man's conflict, fought out in the forum of the public conscience. The Negro, though eager enough when the opportunity offered, had comparatively little to do with the abolition of slavery, which was a vastly more formidable task than will be the enforcement of the fifteenth amendment."

Wilford H. Smith writes the paper on "The Negro and the Law," an interesting summary of the various measures designed to keep the races separate in the South, with instances of how these measures have seemed to him to work in practice. The Jim Crow car comes in for mentien as "repugnant to the spirit of the Constitution," and this is said about the legislatures and the courts:

"Now, in all the Southern States, so far as can be ascertained, there is not one Negro sitting as a representative in any of the lawmaking bodies. * * * But, serious as this phase of the case may appear, infinitely more serious is the case when we consider the fact that they are likewise excluded from the grand and petit juries in all the State courts, with the fewest and rarest exceptions. They are not entitled to life, liberty, and property if the courts should decide they are not, and yet in this all-important tribunal they are denied all voice except as parties and witnesses, and here and there a Negro lawyer is permitted to appear."

Yet Smith admits that there are southern judges who administer the law with strict impartiality, and he names some of these judges.

An article on the "Characteristics of the Negro People," by H. T. Kealing, divides these characteristics into two classes—inborn and inbred. The inborn qualities are defined as of the blood, the inbred are assumed to be the product of the conditions of slavery. An enumeration of the two groups of qualities as Kealing presents them will show that he assumes that all the Negro's good qualities are in the blood; that his evil qualities are acquired. Thus, inborn characteristics: The Negro is intensely religious (or superstitious), he is imaginative, he is affectionate without vindictiveness, he has great endurance, both dispositional and physical; he is courageous, he is cheerful.

Inbred characteristics: The Negro is shiftless, incontinent, indolent, improvident and extravagant, untidy, dishonest, untruthful, unreliable in business, lacks initiative, is suspicious of the other Negroes, and is ignorant.

Kealing, like Washington, believes in industrial education as the key to salvation—"not that exceptional minds should not have exceptional opportunities, but that these opportunities already exist." "Let us make," says this Negro, "safe men rather than vociferous mountebanks. Let us put deftness in daily labor above sleight-of-hand tricks, and common sense well trained above classical smatterings which awe the multitude but butter no parsnips."

Paul Laurence Dunbar, the Negro poet, contributes a paper on "Representative American Negroes," from among whom he takes some pains to exclude certain political colored men who have at certain times appeared as Representatives in Congress. Of Booker Washington, Dunbar says that "the race has produced no more adroit diplomatist than he. The statement is broad, but there is no better proof of it than the fact that while he is our most astute politician, he has succeeded in convincing both himself and the country that he is not in politics."—*New York Times.*

METHODS OF AFRICAN LABOR.

The following letter by Dr. Edward W. Blyden, which we reproduce from the *West African Mail*, April 8, on the labor question in West Africa, is most suggestive. We are satisfied that a disregard of the principles he has enunciated lies at the root of all the failures in industrial efforts in this country:

"SIR: Seeing that the *West African Mail* is the official organ for West Africa of the British Cotton Growing Association, permit me to say a few words about that enterprise. But first I must quote the following very timely utterance of Lady Lugard in her able address before the Society of Arts:

"'If tropical administration is going to form, as I believe it is, a new and interesting chapter in the near future of imperial development, then perhaps the best that we, as part of the com-

mon public, can do is to set ourselves to learn some ordinary facts about the tropics.'

"The word 'tropics' here, as the address was about Africa, must refer chiefly to this country. It is astonishing that, notwithstanding the many years of intercourse between England and Africa, there are many 'ordinary facts' in connection with the country which Englishmen have yet to learn. So far as the great cotton enterprise is concerned, if they do *not* learn these facts, failure—disastrous failure—must attend it:

"1. They must respect and uphold native authority in the country, and work through that authority to carry their schemes. I see in the *West African Mail* (4th March) that at a recent meeting of the West African section of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce the following record was made: That, 'in the opinion of the African committee, it is advisable that the native forms of government should, for the present at any rate, be respected and maintained, but at the same time it is desirable that their jurisdiction should, as soon as possible, be brought under the supervision of British officials or residents, this more especially in matters involving large questions of general policy.'

"Why is it thought 'desirable' that the native authority should be impaired and weakened by being brought under the supervision of British officials? Have you any British officials who would be able to bring greater knowledge or experience to the control of native conditions than the natives themselves? There are two reasons against such supposition: (*a*) Because men chosen as residents must be young men, for old and experienced men in the service would not be sent to Africa as mere residents; and it is the habit of young men, as a rule, to dislocate things, as we saw in the unfortunate rebellion in Sierra Leone a few years ago. The losses in trade sustained in that unnecessary episode have not yet been repaired, to say nothing of the lives lost. (*b*) Old and experienced men, even if they had not risen in the service, which would be a poor recommendation, could not stand the climate. You are shut in, then, for your supervisors of native chiefs to young men with exaggerated ideas of British power and imperial rule, and to the consequences of such 'supervision.'

"Take, then, the advice of Lady Lugard and study this question of native authority before you embark your millions in the

cotton enterprise. The proper policy, if you want success, is to strengthen native authority.

"2. The next point is to study native conditions of labor. In the particular work of the lamented Captain Abadie, whom you justly eulogize, he could pay money to his canoe boys, but it is a mistake to suppose that they had always had to work for nothing. Under the communistic system of Africa no native works for nothing. They work in common and have all things in common. The absence of cash in hand does not necessarily imply the existence of 'nothing' there. The method of Captain Abadie would, if generally followed, dislocate the conditions of labor, with gain neither to the native nor European. Such matters should be left to the chiefs to regulate; otherwise, it would be impossible for European labor devoted to the regular cultivation of the soil, or to large and permanent enterprises, to be made to pay.

"If you should undertake to collect the palm oil, palm kernels, and rubber of the country by paying money to individual laborers, you would bankrupt your richest houses, and your steamers would return empty to Liverpool. If you undermine the power of the chiefs and take from them the control of their own methods of labor, you must fail. I have known nowhere in Africa where the European labor system has been successful. It was found impossible in the Congo, and violence and cruelty had to be resorted to. It has not succeeded in South Africa, and Chinese have to be imported. It will not succeed in West or Central Africa. I see in the *West African Mail* (4th March) that the Ashanti railway has cost £5,000 more per mile than the estimated cost. Lord Grey also informed the House of Lords that 'there was an offer to construct the Uganda railway for £3,400 per mile, in four years. It was decided, however, to construct it departmentally, and instead of being built in four years, the railway was not built for nine years, at a cost of over £9,000 a mile.' Under the labor system introduced from Europe every enterprise you undertake will be sure to exceed the temporal and pecuniary estimate. Please study the question. I feel sure that in this great cotton movement there will not be wanting, on the part of Englishmen who have thus far built up West African commerce, the good sense, the high principle, the far-sighted reason, which have hitherto led to success in strictly commercial

matters. There are 'ordinary facts,' to use Lady Lugard's phrase, with which the British public are unfamiliar, and which it must be educated to appreciate. As regards your great cotton enterprise, if its management is to be purely philanthropic, we shall remain very much as we are; if it is to be purely political, it will be subject to the drawbacks of red tape; if it is to be purely commercial, its agents will be studying pounds, shillings, and pence for themselves and those they represent. The management may include all these, but it must be based upon scientific knowledge and appreciation of conditions.

"All your commerce with West Africa from the days of Macgregor Laird, or during the last sixty years, all the steamships you have been able to build, have been the result of your respect for, and reliance upon, native methods of production. Now, in your cotton enterprise if you propose to disregard the principles I have tried to point out above, and to proceed upon the idea that the native has no system of his own that ought to be respected, and no initiative or persistence in his own methods of labor that can be trusted, then I will venture to warn you that you have not money enough in England to meet the demands which the exhaustive and unproductive expenditure of your cotton experiment will involve. The difficulties in your system are commercially insuperable, and the system itself is to Africans morally eccentric and abnormal."—*Sierra Leone Weekly News.*

LIBERIA.

Beyond the darkness cometh light. Africa, long in darkness, under the favorable conditions of the genial influences of the modern world is kindly being led toward the light, where the brightness of the full day is a possibility.

In the northeast section of Africa of the ancient world there was a great light, but it was a light only for the favored few. The masses did not receive any benefit from it. The benefit was reserved and held in tyrannical grasp by those who in their conceit claimed it all as a royalty for themselves.

The powerful forces—the kings and the priests—controlled all for which life was worth living. The rest of Africa was in

darkness. The real light of the world had not reached that section of the globe. Prehistoric conditions there existed, and the light of the future was yet to come. In other parts of the world the light spread even to far-off America, but in the greater part of Africa the light was long delayed.

The cruel Arab power arose and took advantage of the darkness that prevailed all to the south of the narrow northern border. What light this power had was solely used for its own cruel lust, for sordid gain. In this Arabic composition there was no conception of the "good will towards men." There seemed no hope for this land of Liberia; but the good forces of Ormuz were growing and increasing in power. Slowly came the light; slowly it reached the outer lines of the "Dark Continent"; steadily the light spread all around.

Civilization first started in the East, but it was a civilization that only favored the few. More and more it extended toward the West, and as it extended its sphere was gradually enlarged, until it took upon itself a grander scope, and with its benign influence reached out toward larger and larger circles; so in good time its spirit, thus reinforced, extended to the East, from whence it originated.

From its original home in the East it extended to western Europe, then crossed the sea to America, and here it gathered a force that greatly enhanced its value to the world. But poor Africa continued to suffer, from the acts of brutes, who, like the early Egyptians, claimed for themselves civilization—a civilization that strengthened their brute instincts rather than redeeming and elevating them. Like the ancient ruling powers of Egypt, they used this force for a low rather than for a noble purpose. The black man, poor and helpless, was the victim of darkness. The people of England were the first to see and to comprehend the great wrongs of Africa, and from England, through English sources, the grand moral force spread to America. At first the dominating influence in America was too much like old Egypt—the dominating force, but not the real force—the latent God-like spirit that had been taught by the ancient prophets of Israel, of "good will towards men." The people of Africa by some were not regarded as men; they were regarded more as a part of the brute creation. But the worst brutes of the world have ever been those who, having the ad-

vantage of enlightenment, have acted as though they had a royalty upon this enlightenment, whereby they were privileged to treat the "poor and oppressed of earth" as they would treat the brute creation, with even less consideration than they would have for the beasts of the field. By such acts on their part they brutalized themselves and made themselves lower than the brute creation. There was nothing God-like in their acts. The black man of Africa had no rights that they were bound to respect, and to our shame this doctrine was enunciated by one of the most eminent and prominent judges of the Supreme Court of the United States.

But the leaven of civilization was growing. Men of less education, but with more real enlightenment, kindness, and humanity, came forward and championed the rights of the "poor and oppressed of earth." The better way grew, and one of the results of this development, on the part of the civilized and humane masses, was the active steps taken to carry out this grand moral principle. They did not, like the Egyptians, think themselves the only power on earth suitable to live and enjoy happiness.

The better way grew despite the powerful opposition, and a little corner of Africa was established as a nucleus, about which the power for the salvation of Africa grew. The establishment of Liberia was a venture.

But the light is beaming in from the West. In its original form it first came from the East. The East was not favorable ground for its development; it must first reach the West and then reflect back its force to the East.

Liberia is a result of this grand reflection, a reflection that is a power for good, for the "good will towards men." The man who lifts up his neighbor lifts himself up, and the man who oppresses his neighbor, and brutalizes him, only brutalizes himself. Liberia has held on. May it continue to hold on, and may the good men and women of the world see in this experiment in Africa a means not only favorable to Africa, but a grand power for lifting up humanity along all lines. "Help them to right who suffer wrong." "Help all the poor and oppressed from them that swelleth against them."

The United States has expended money for many purposes, some noble and some not so very noble, but it would seem quite proper in her considering how she has helped the old spirit of

Egypt—it would now seem quite proper for her to exert herself along the lines of the ancient prophets of Israel—in the spirit of "good will towards men," for it is the only true spirit, the only spirit for which life is worth living. Apply this spirit to all, at home and abroad. Africa has long suffered and her people have been more cruelly oppressed than all the rest of the world.

The world alone can not progress on the basis of only good will toward the few; the Spirit of the Great Jehovah embraces all; and certainly the poor and oppressed of earth have more need of our good will than the dominant classes, like those of old Egypt, the cruel Arabs, and all the arrogant classes of the world who have declared that these sons of Africa have no rights that the white man is bound to respect.

What is the ideal of heaven should also be the ideal of earth. The higher our existence here the higher our existence hereafter. There is grandeur in the old philosophy of "good will towards men." It carries with it peace, and through the medium of peace and good will the world is elevated.

Its influence is not confined nor curtailed. It is something that makes life worth living, and its results in the future shall be most glorious for all.—*Isaac P. Noyes.*

NEGRO EDUCATION ALL IMPORTANT.

VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE RACE PROBLEM CONSIDERED BY MESSRS. CARNEGIE, ELIOT, FRISSELL, AND WASHINGTON.

The question of educating and elevating the southern Negro was discussed in all its aspects by President Eliot, of Harvard University, Andrew Carnegie, Dr. H. B. Frissell, and Booker T. Washington at a meeting held under the auspices of the Armstrong Association in the concert hall of Madison Square Garden. Every seat on the floor of the hall was filled and the galleries were crowded to overflowing. Scores of negroes were present, who showed by their close attention to the speeches that they appreciated what was being done for their race.

Mr. Carnegie presided. Some of those on the platform with him, in addition to the speakers named, were Robert C. Ogden, President Finley, of the City College; President Taylor, of

Vassar; Robert U. Johnson, Horace E. Deming, Homer Folks, Dr. L. T. Chamberlain, M. D. Conway, Charles A. Anderson, and T. Thomas Fortune.

Those who had taken boxes were Mrs. Andrew Carnegie, Mrs. Robert C. Ogden, Mrs. C. P. Huntington, Mrs. C. S. Hewitt, Mrs. George McAneny, Oswald Garrison Villard, Bishop D. H. Greer, St. Clair McKelway, Miss Putnam, Mrs. Elbert B. Monroe, Miss Helen Butler, Miss Bryce, Mrs. W. H. Schieffelin, Mrs. J. S. Billings, Mrs. R. B. Minturn, Cleveland H. Dodge, Miss E. L. Cary, A. S. Frissell, I. N. Seligman, W. H. Baldwin, Jr., J. D. Rockefeller, Jr., John S. Kennedy, Carl Schurz, Mrs. W. J. Schieffelin, Horace B. Silliman, Miss E. W. Brown, Robert M. Ogden, Miss Prime, John E. Parsons, James Bartram, H. B. Dominick, and Walter H. Page.

The following letter from ex-President Grover Cleveland was read:

"I am sorry I must forego the gratification of attending the meeting to be held on the 12th instant for the promotion of the purposes of southern educational work.

"I am so completely convinced of the importance of this cause, as it is related to the solution of a problem which no patriotic citizen should neglect, that I look upon every attempt to stimulate popular interest and activity in its behalf as a duty of citizenship.

"All our people and every section of our country are deeply concerned in the better equipment of our Negro population for self-support and usefulness. There should be a general agreement as to the necessity of their improvement in this direction, and all good men should contribute, in the manner best suited to their several circumstances, to the accomplishment of this beneficent result.

"Different sections of our country are affected in different degrees and with greater or less directness, but it seems to me all must concede that no agencies can possibly do better service in the cause of Negro amelioration than the institutions in which they are taught how to be self-supporting and self-respecting.

"Such institutions as these, which have demonstrated their efficiency and which prove their merit by an exhibit of successful effort, should be constantly and generously encouraged and assisted. The extent to which this is done may well be ac-

cepted as a test of our sincerity in the cause of Negro improvement."

In his opening address Mr. Carnegie expressed the belief that the education of the Negro must depend very largely on the amount of sympathy extended by the North to the people of the South. In part he said:

"We meet upon the birthday of the great emancipator, Abraham Lincoln, he who knocked the shackles from four millions of slaves and made them physically free under the law. But in the higher sense he only is a freeman whom education makes free. Lincoln did his part, but he only began the task. It remains for us, the followers of that leader of men, to continue and complete it. This brings us here tonight.

"Every northerner who has not lived in the South or visited it often for extended periods must be ignorant of the South and the serious problems which confront our fellow-citizens there, white and black. We have nothing like it in the North; neither has Britain nor any English-speaking community under free institutions similar conditions with which to deal.

"Before I had a vote I was an ardent Free-Soiler. After the war my brother and his family made their winter home in the South, and during my numerous visits there I was brought face to face with the southern problem and became deeply impressed with its gravity, as any northern man is who is brought face to face with it.

"We have destroyed one bad system, but constructive work is needed. The shackles may be off, but the slave of yesterday can not rise to the height of full citizenship next day. Resolutions and party platforms, eloquent harangues upon liberty, equality, and fraternity promote no healthy growth, produce no good fruit. Even legislation can not reach the seat of the malady. The cure is not political, but social.

"I am persuaded that the Educational Conference, presided over by Mr. Ogden, represented here by him and others; Tuskegee, represented by that remarkable leader of his people, Mr. Washington; Hampton, represented by the President, and others are on the right path, and theirs the means through which the colored man is to be made capable of finally exercising the powers and performing the duties of a citizen of a free State with safety to the State. Many of you have read the paper of our

distinguished fellow-citizen of New York, the Hon. Carl Schurz. He points out that our aim should be, first, to lift the colored man and make him worthy of citizenship, never denying him, however, that ideal.

"In the South the ignorant are the immense majority. To give suffrage without restriction to the blacks would mean that the intelligent whites were powerless—overwhelmed. Government would be in the hands of men steeped in ignorance of political responsibilities to a degree impossible for northern people to imagine. The wise policy seems obvious. We should agree that the keeping down of millions of people, even if successful, would be destructive to civilized society and a menace to the State. To treat them as if they had already risen would be equally so; therefore an educational test for the suffrage should be adopted and strictly applied."

Mr. Carnegie added that, after all, the improvement of the South, both white and black, must be accomplished by the best educated white element in the South, which is in sympathy with the views of northerners. "We can not," he said, "produce cotton enough for the wants of the world. We should be in the position in which South Africa is today, but for the faithful, placable, peaceful, industrious, lovable colored man."

President Eliot was next presented, and said in part:

"At this moment there is no larger or graver problem before civilized man than the prompt formation of a sound public opinion about the right treatment of backward races, and Hampton possesses the key words of that great problem—education and productive labor. Northern opinion and southern opinion are identical with regard to keeping the two races pure—that is, without admixture of one with the other. The northern whites hold this opinion quite as firmly as the southern whites, and inasmuch as the Negroes hold the same view, this supposed danger of racial impairment ought not to have much influence on practical measures.

"With regard to coming into personal contact with Negroes, the averse feeling of the northern whites is stronger than that of the southern whites, who are accustomed to such contrasts; but on account of the fewness of the Negroes at the North, no separate provision is made for them in public conveyances and other places of public resort, but the uneducated northern whites

are less tolerant of the Negro than the southern whites. More trades and occupations are actually open to Negroes in the southern States than in the northern.

"I come next to a real difference between northern opinion and southern opinion—a difference the roots of which are rather hard to trace. At the North nobody connects political equality—that of the possession of the ballot and eligibility to public office—with social equality—that is, free social intercourse on equal terms in the people's homes. At the South the white population seem to think unanimously that there is a close connection between the two questions following: Shall a Negro vote or be a letter-carrier? and shall he sit with a white man at dinner or marry a white man's sister?

"To the northern mind there is something positively comical in the notion that a letter-carrier, or a fourth-class postmaster, or an alderman changes his social status or his social prospects when he attains to his office. At the North this man remains in the social position to which his education, business training, and social faculties entitle him. Nothing in the long experience of freedom among the northern whites has ever suggested to them that there is any connection between social intercourse and political equality. The southern white sees a race danger in eating at the same table with a Negro; he sees in being either the host or the guest of a Negro an act of race infidelity. The northern white sees nothing of the kind. The race danger does not enter into his thoughts at all; he does not believe there is any such danger. To be the host or guest of a Negro, a Mexican, or a Japanese would be for him simply a matter of present pleasure, convenience, or courtesy. It would never occur to him that such an act could possibly harm his own race.

"In respect to the value of that peculiar form of education which Hampton Institute has so admirably illustrated—education through manual training and labor at trades and crafts—there is a striking agreement between northern and southern opinion. One of the most remarkable changes in public education in the northern States during the past fifteen years has been the rapid introduction of just these features into our urban school system."

President Eliot evoked a loud burst of applause when in stating that the northern whites are beginning to sympathize

strongly with their southern brethren in respect to the Negro he declared that the northerners "would like to see the southern universities enabled to maintain separate professional schools for colored men, and they would like to see a way found for the national Government to spend as much money on solving the southern Negro problem as it has been spending for six years past on the Philippine problem."

He counseled all to remember that the task of making competent freemen out of slaves was not the work of a day or a decade, but of many generations. Patience, he said, was needed to assure the desired result.

Dr. Frissell, who is the principal of Hampton Institute, said the problem before the people of this country was a tremendous one, and it was this: How are men differing in wealth, station, race, to learn to live together so as to be mutually helpful? How may the rich and the poor, the employer and the employé, the white man and the black man, learn to serve instead of hate and hinder one another?

"An old Negro preacher once prayed, 'Lord, make the unfit fit, and the fitter more fitting.' This was the thought of the Hampton School—to make the unfit fit for the life just ahead of them, so that they could best serve themselves, their people, and their white neighbors."

Dr. Frissell described at length the methods pursued at Hampton and the results achieved. At the very foundation of the institute, he said, lay the idea of labor. All education there has for its object the fitting of the student for work. He told of the large industrial village, with its workshops, its farms, laboratories, and school-rooms.

"Every girl in the school," he said, "must be able before she graduates to make a dress for herself and to cook a good meal, and every boy must be able to work in wood and iron. In addition, they receive a thorough knowledge of the rudiments of an English education and a careful training in morals and manners. Perhaps more important than anything else is the spirit of kindness toward others there. 'Cantankerousness is worse than heterodoxy,' wrote General Armstrong. Neither students nor teachers are allowed to remain long unless they can work with others. Hate, racial or individual, is excluded.

"The great mass of Negroes are making an earnest struggle

out of the darkness into the light. Every Negro school in the South is crowded today. Hampton refused last year six times as many applicants as could be accepted. I could tell you of hundreds of Negro parents who are denying themselves the necessities of life in order to give their children an education.

"When you hear that the Negroes are all bad and daily growing worse, will you remember that, in spite of all their difficulties, the Negro race has accumulated property since the war amounting to nearly $800,000,000 in farms, houses, and various business establishments; that they have themselves raised toward their own education more than $13,000,000; that they have accumulated in church property more than $40,000,000 and in school property $15,000,000? When you hear that they are hopelessly immoral and criminal, will you remember that this great country of ours set them free without making any adequate provision for their physical, moral, or intellectual education?

"At the opening of the present school year at Hampton there were over 1,200 Negro and Indian boys and girls receiving instruction on the Hampton grounds—800 boarders and 400 day scholars. Five hundred student teachers were gathered from every part of the South in attendance upon its summer school of six weeks. Our annual expenses are $180,000, about $100,000 of which is provided for by interest on the endowment fund, one-third of the land-scrip fund of the State of Virginia, the Slater fund, the Morrill Act fund, and an annual appropriation by Congress toward the support of 120 Indians.

"An appeal has to be made each year for $80,000 to meet the school's current expenses. One-eighth of this amount has been provided for the last two years by the generous chairman of this meeting, Mr. Carnegie. The remaining $70,000, together with provision for the school's permanent improvements, is given in sums varying from one dollar to $5,000.

"In General Armstrong's words, 'Hampton must not go down. See to it, you who are true to the black and red children of the land and to just ideas of education.'"

Booker T. Washington spoke at considerable length on the difficulties with which his race had had to contend and elicited much applause when he said that "the moral lines are beginning to be as strictly drawn in my race as in yours, and you

must not forget that we are as proud of our race as you are of yours.

"Several persons holding high official positions have recently said that it does not pay from any point of view to educate the Negro, and that all attempts at his education have so far failed to accomplish any good results. Except that these utterances come from official sources, they would have little claim to a place in a meeting of this character.

"We have in the South a Negro population who are anxious to work because they want education for their children; they want land, churches, houses, books, and papers. They want the highest and best in our civilization. With all his disadvantages, the Negro, according to official records, has blotted out 55.5 per cent of his illiteracy since he became a free man, while practically 95 per cent of the native Africans are illiterate. In Spain 68 per cent of the population are illiterate; in Italy 38 per cent; in the average South American country, 80 per cent. In passing judgment upon us the world too often forgets that, either consciously or otherwise, because of geographical or physical proximity to the American white man, we are being compared to the very highest civilization that exists!"

As to the contribution of the black race to its own education, Dr. Washington quoted the figures of the State superintendent of education in Florida showing, according to the superintendent, that the education of the Negroes of middle Florida, the black belt, does not cost the white people of that section one cent.

Speaking of the problem from a moral and religious point of view, Dr. Washington continued:

"Not a single graduate of the Hampton Institute or the Tuskegee Institute can be found today in any jail or State penitentiary. The records of the South show that 90 per cent of the colored people in prisons are without knowledge of trades and 61 per cent are illiterate. This statement alone disproves the assertion that the Negro grows in crime as education increases.

"All the Negro race asks is that the door which rewards industry, thrift, intelligence, and character be left as wide open for him as for the foreigner who constantly comes to our country. Neither must the nation grow impatient and faithless. It must remember that during the last forty years the South has been passing through a tremendous industrial and social crisis.

Time, the great leveler, will exercise her modifying, sobering, influence upon all concerned.

"For every dollar that has been put into our education by the North and South through such agencies as the Hampton Institute, the race will more than repay by a life of industry, intelligence, high Christian character, and in helpful friendship between the races, and because of our elevation it shall be said of the South, 'The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose.'"—*New York Times.*

POLYGAMY CONDEMNED.

According to the definition of marriage accepted by all civilized nations, according to the teachings of Christ, according to what seems to have been the Divine intention regarding marriage from the beginning, polygamy is condemned by all Christian peoples, and wherever it exists, in whatever form or under whatever condition, it is a crime against civilization, against nature, against posterity, against womanhood.

The original institution of marriage by God was union of *one* man with *one* woman, although God had the residue of creating power and might have made more had he so designed; but he made only one, and the spiritual blending of the two lives into one—"And they two shall be one flesh"—is beyond all possibility in a marriage at the same time with more than one person.

The Bible teaches that if polygamy was practiced by the patriarchs it was done without Divine sanction, and that God's seal of disapproval has always been upon it, even though, for reasons known only to the unfathomable mind of the Deity, He has not always punished those who practiced it. With this fact so evident and Christ's positive condemnation of the practice of polygamy, it is not only most surprising, but painfully revolting to the noblest feelings of virtuous citizens that in this age of the world attempts should be made in Christian nations to license such an infamous institution, a thousand times more baneful in its pernicious effects in a civilized community than in an Eastern harem or in the depths of an African jungle, for

these women have never known a purer and better life. But can a people, in the face of this twentieth century culture and refinement, turn its women into licensed prostitutes, its men into reckless libertines, its homes into brothels, and deprive its youth of legitimate parentage?

Such an institution permitted by a State will at once become a virus which will corrode the spiritual life of its people and find its ultimate end in disintegration. Neither piety nor freedom can be subserved by such a measure. The peace of the home will be at once and forever broken up. There never was a woman, though some argue to the contrary, who was willing to admit a rival for her husband's affections.

Ever since the time of Abraham and Sarah the Hagars have been driven forth in shame and disgrace. And thus it will ever be.

To think of any true, noble-minded woman giving her consent to living in marriage with a man of more than one wife is preposterous, and even though she be coerced into giving it by her lecherous partner her womanly feelings revolt against such disgusting and unnatural living and her heart becomes a living hell. Surely no Christian nation can thus set its seal upon illegitimacy and call upon its women to lay upon the altar of sacrifice that one *indivisible* treasure which God intended should be to each woman—the love of one strong heart.—*The African World.*

THE WORK IN LIBERIA.

EXTRACTS FROM BISHOP HARTZELL'S REPORT TO THE GENERAL CONFERENCE.

For twenty years previous to my arrival in Liberia, in January, 1897, the only missionary sent out by the church to that field was a lay teacher. During Bishop Taylor's twelve years' administration he received the pittance of $2,500 a year for the English-speaking Americo-Liberian work, where in former years the appropriation ran as high as $30,000 annually. He gave his strength and all his special funds to his "self-supporting missions" among the native heathen. These, for various reasons, languished, their financial support from special funds dimin-

ished and ceased entirely upon the bishop's retirement. For a generation but little attempt had been made in Liberia to educate teachers or preachers. Our educational work at Monrovia consisted of a primary school, with one teacher. Our young men and women were being educated in schools of a sister church, and many leaving our communion. The mission press outfit had been destroyed and the building gone to ruin. The seminary building was in a state of dilapidation. Pauperized in former time by extravagant appropriations, and the latter years discouraged by absurdly small support, the comparative failure of self-supporting stations among the raw heathen, and the final loss of income to support them at all—the Liberia conference presented a sad picture of results after more than sixty years of missionary endeavor. But there were two encouraging facts: Our people as a whole had remained loyal to the church of their choice in spite of the death of most of their leaders, their struggles with poverty, and activity of rival organizations. The actual church membership remained about the same. The other and greater fact was that God never forsakes His work because of human errors in judgment or a lack of efficiency in administration.

A new era of efficiency and hopefulness has come to this our oldest foreign mission.

We have a membership of 3,301; there are 60 Sunday schools, with 546 teachers and 2,449 scholars; there are 26 day schools, with 43 teachers and 945 pupils. There are in the Republic perhaps 20,000 Americo-Liberians—that is, Negroes from America, and their descendants—and the figures given indicate that fully half of these are included in the membership and attendance upon our churches, Sunday schools, and day schools.

There are 48 churches, valued at $85,700; 7 parsonages, valued at $9,500; separate school properties worth $30,000, while the value of our printing house and equipment is over $6,000. This makes a total of $131,200 in property, of which about $45,000 has been secured during the past four years.

The number of our ministers and teachers is 94, and of this number 20 have been transferred from our institutions of learning in the South. A new determination to help themselves has taken possession of the ministers and people. During the past quadrennium over $10,000 has been paid by the people toward

the support of its ministry and church expenses. The First church, Monrovia, besides supporting its pastor, has built a parsonage property worth $5,000, supports four of its Sunday school scholars in the college, and gives $2,000 to help enlarge the building of the institution. The church at Cape Palmas, which has received missionary money for sixty years, has supported its pastor for three years, and, to emphasize its joy, paid him last year in gold. Two churches, costing $4,000 each, have been dedicated, and several less expensive ones have been finished or are now being erected. In each of these cases only small amounts of aid were granted from mission or special funds. At Grand Bassa, after the completion of the new $4,000 church, under the leadership of Hon. J. D. Summerville, Vice-President of the Republic, $3,000 was raised toward building a district high school.

There is cause for special congratulation over the success of our educational work under the presidency of Rev. Dr. A. P. Camphor, a delegate in this body. The seminary building has been thoroughly repaired and outfitted, the name of the school changed to "The College of West Africa," and recently a charter of incorporation secured from the government, providing for the maintenance of collegiate, theological, normal, and industrial departments. The policy to make this our only school of high grade in the Republic, with affiliated primary schools, is being carried out successfully. It is a most interesting fact that nearly half of the 945 pupils in our college and day schools and more than 1,000 in our Sunday schools are boys and girls from the purely native people. A theological class of seven has been organized. Some of our normal graduates have already taken excellent positions and are succeeding. Our printing house is one of the industrial departments of the college, the work being done by the students. We issue a sixteen-page paper, the same size as the *American Advocates*, and do a large amount of job printing, including conference minutes. A department of photography has recently been added, and the plan is to provide for work in photo-engraving and electrotyping. This outfit is not equaled on the West Coast of Africa from the Straits of Gibraltar to Cape Town. During the past few years more than $5,000 worth of the best American text books have been put

into our schools in Liberia. Our printing department is largely self-supporting, and will soon be a source of income.

Twenty-five miles up the St. Paul river is our largest industrial school, where carpentry, blacksmithing, and cabinet-making are taught. The new buildings, with their equipments and material on hand, are worth fully $5,000. During my last visit an additional plantation of over 500 acres near by on the same river, with valuable buildings, was secured.

In all our mission stations gardening and agriculture and home industries are taught. At Garraway a $4,000 iron building, shipped out from England, has been completed the past year, and during my visit I had the satisfaction of holding in it an all-day reception to the native chiefs and their people from the surrounding country.

Another hopeful sign in Liberia is in the ambition of the conference to make a forward movement among the millions in the farther interior. Several of our best men have volunteered to lead such an enterprise. Recently a joint expedition, representing England and Liberia, made a tour of several hundred miles in the interior to locate the boundary line between Sierra Leone—an English colony—and Liberia. Col. A. D. Williams, our lay delegate to this body, commanded the expedition. On Easter Sunday, 1903, the officers and men, numbering nearly 100, were in the midst of the Golahs, a fine class of natives. More than a generation ago there had gone out among these people some persons who had been in our mission schools near Monrovia. Ever since that time, although surrounded by great Mohammedan tribes, they have forbidden the presence of any Islam teacher in their midst. An Easter service was held, with songs and prayers and stories about the birth and life of Jesus. A great company attended and showed intense interest as the songs and addresses were interpreted to them. An Easter banner had been made, and after the meeting was over the king insisted that it should be his. Here is one of the many wide-open doors leading to the heart of the continent.

A word should be said concerning the Republic of Liberia itself. I have received many courtesies from the President, his Cabinet, and from the legislature. At one time it was my privilege to act as a special representative on an important diplomatic errand to London and Washington, in relation to a matter

affecting the very life of the Republic. The result was a joint note from the United States and England to certain European powers very favorable to Liberia. My feeling is—and the same sentiment was expressed to me by President McKinley, and later by President Roosevelt—that the United States has a binding moral obligation to encourage and help Liberia. During our civil war and the reconstruction period following, Liberia dropped out of the public thought in America; but the old-time interest in that Negro Republic must be revived. It is the open door for secular and missionary work for educated and enterprising Negroes from this country. The Methodist Episcopal Church has special responsibilities. A Methodist society was organized on one of the first emigrant ships that went out, and our church has been one of the chief factors in the life of the Republic from the beginning. From among 300,000 Negro communicants in America should go ministers, teachers, and tradesmen to become a part of that Christian nation and participate in the work, extending its influence in the region beyond. European trade and capital are developing the country, and the present administration under President Barclay is efficient and progressive. The present United States Minister in Monrovia, our own Dr. Ernest Lyon, of Baltimore, has the confidence of all. Hygienic conditions are improving. None of the Negro missionaries I have sent out in eight years have died. I have felt that an important part of my work has been to bring into closer relations the people of Liberia and our own Negro citizens in America, and especially our own church people in the Southern States. If Liberia can be made a permanent success as a nation, growing in independence and aggressiveness, the way is open for hundreds and thousands of our brothers and sisters in black in America for enlarged usefulness, and to have a share in the final redemption of Africa.—*Liberia and West Africa.*

LIBERIAN EMIGRATION.

We seriously question some methods employed by radical American Negroes to obtain recruits for Liberia. They will not benefit Liberia if they do not prove disastrous to the immigrants themselves. We are not opposed to immigration if the

right sort can be had. For one or two families to come at a time with sufficient means to be independent until a foothold can be secured is the course we would advise. There are avenues open here, where, with a little money and common sense, one can make an independent living. Prospective immigrants need not be led astray by being told what the old settlers have done with almost nothing. The conditions have changed. The old settlers who accumulated small fortunes did so in trading and at a time when conscience was not considered in trading with natives. Those were times when traders were few and returns on investments were expressed in three figures, and sometimes four. Fortunes must be made in other ways now.

We think President Barclay understands what he is talking about, and the sentiments expressed in his inaugural address are well worth considering. Referring to the question of immigration on a large scale, he said: "It can not be denied that the country is not prepared for the movement. While preparing a home, the immigrant must have facilities for procuring work. At present these do not exist."—*Liberia and West Africa.*

WORK AT TUSKEGEE.

Character-building is the keynote of the work at Tuskegee. Although the means to this end have been often described, the story is never old, for the activities of the institution are constantly expanding. So much has been said in the public prints about Booker T. Washington and the Tuskegee Institute that a visitor comes here with high expectations, but unless he looks for a plant like that at Harvard or some of the older northern schools, he will find that the reality far exceeds his hopes.

Of the land here, some fairly fertile and some sandy and sterile, the institute possesses about 2,300 acres, practically in one block. On this tract the students can practice all the processes of agriculture permitted by the climate. The farm is cultivated so as to supply the institute as fully as possible. It thus feeds the students, provides them with a training school, and furnishes them a chance to earn money and pay their way. More than this, the farm work serves as a model and inspiration for the whole region. The dairy, the cattle, the poultry

yards are all inexpensively but well constructed, an example of what may be done with small capital but unusual skill. At the agricultural experiment station the director and his assistants analyze soil and give scientific instructions as to methods of improving it by rotation of crops and suitable fertilizers. The idea is to teach the Negro to till his farm with as much intelligence as is shown by the best-informed whites, North or South.

The most interesting thing indoors is the series of well-equipped trade shops, where the students master the arts of printer, carpenter, cabinetmaker, woodturner, saw-miller, blacksmith, wheelwright, harnessmaker, carriage-trimmer, painter, machinist, iron founder, plumber, steamfitter, tinsmith, brickmaker, mason, plasterer, canner, electrical engineer, shoemaker, and tailor. There is also a building for women's trades, including plain sewing, dressmaking, millinery, cooking, laundering, domestic training, mattress-making, and basketry. The hospital, too, is a training school for nurses. The school is able to practically live within itself. The students have put up nearly forty buildings, and, as Mr. Washington explains, skill and knowledge are now handed down from one class to another, until at the present time a building of any description or size can be constructed wholly by Tuskegee instructors and students, from the drawing of the plans to the putting in of the electrical fixtures, "without going off the grounds for a single workman."

It is in these shops and on the farm that the students are tried out. If a man or woman will stick to the work through thick and thin, win an education by sheer force of muscle and brain, that man or woman is almost sure to be a credit to Tuskegee. The brickyard is perhaps the severest test of all. If a boy comes penniless, appealing for an education, he often undergoes his probation in the brickyard. In case he shows pluck and strength to endure the back-breaking toil in the clay pits, he is worth making something of.

So much stress has been laid upon the agricultural and industrial training that one fancies the school work of the ordinary kind is subordinated. As a matter of fact, however, the instruction, so far as it goes, is exceedingly thorough. Pupils are expected upon entrance to be able to read, write, and understand addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division. The

sciences, mathematics, and the so-called English branches are carried through what corresponds roughly to our high-school grades, but neither ancient nor modern foreign languages have a place in the curriculum. In all the classes there is a distinct purpose to connect the studies with daily pursuits; to write the English compositions on experiences in the shops or on the farms; to apply the principles of chemistry to the problems of every-day life, such as cooking, soap-making, disinfecting a sick-room, and destroying garden pests. The excellence of the teaching must open the eyes of many visitors. All the staff are Negroes. Some of them must have lacked early opportunities, and yet an expert would probably confess that the teaching, as a whole, is more skillful than that in any public school in New York city. Mr. and Mrs. Washington have gathered an unusual faculty. The instructors, whatever the extent of their knowledge—and some are graduates of our best northern universities—have received a severe drill in the art of teaching. For success in exposition, in happy illustration, in holding the attention of a class, and in stimulating ambition, Mr. Washington need not fear to match them against all comers.

The night school is intended to help those who have little or no money. A boy or girl can work ten hours a day and then attend night school. By this process it is possible to accumulate a money credit on the books of the institute and in time enter the day school. The day scholar has less work with his hands and more time to study. This night school, like the brickyard, helps to weed out the unfit. Those who can stand ten hours in field or shop and still have energy left for books are the kind it pays to educate.

Mr. Washington feels very justly that the opportunities belong to those who can profit by them. The institute contains between 1,400 and 1,500 pupils, and 1,200 have been turned away within a year for the lack of accommodations. The result is that the students are a picked body. That fact is obvious to any one who sees them gathered in the chapel. They are neat, erect, alert—a gathering of whom all friends of Tuskegee may well be proud. Many have come from the most wretched homes, where they have been reared in filth and ignorance. They have no family tradition of learning or virtue to spur them on; and yet, though without ancestry, they are knit together in a strong am-

bition to have a record which will be an honor to the race and an incentive to still higher effort.

This is, after all, the most encouraging thing about Tuskegee. It is true that Mr. and Mrs. Washington are people of extraordinary intelligence and force. They have gathered a staff of unusually able teachers; that they have built up a great educational plant, and that in organizing and energizing a vast enterprise they have shown a skill that is winning every year a wider recognition. The significant thing, however, is not the brilliant achievements of individuals or small groups, but the steady supply of colored youth who deserve the opportunities here offered. When one looks upon the students of Tuskegee and upon the men and women who have attended the recent conferences here, one realizes that Mr. Washington is not dreaming when he talks of the day when his race shall be recognized as a sober, industrious, and self-respecting element in the Commonwealth, with the virtues of a sturdy yeomanry. The students, he feels, are but representatives of thousands of this generation and millions of the next. He rests on the assurance that though there has seldom been a time when Tuskegee has been in greater need of money, the faith and the courage which have sustained him and his helpers in the past are as deeply rooted as ever, and that when his arms shall fall other hands are ready and able to carry forward the torch.—*New York Evening Post.*

ITEMS.

Rt. Rev. C. S. Smith, D. D.—His Grace, Bishop Smith, who has been assigned to our South African work, will leave for his distant field of operation during the present month, no intervening providence; and one of the ablest bishops of the African M. E. Church will leave this country when Bishop Smith takes his departure. We have been knowing Bishop Smith for thirty-two years. We have listened to him preaching when he was possibly only equaled by one in oratory, and that man was Rev. A. A. Whitman, D. D., who departed this life some three years ago. Bishop Smith is the founder of our Sabbath school department. He has filled positions in the legislature and various departments of the church and state; but we never knew the scope of his intellectuality so thoroughly as we learned it at our last general conference in Chicago, when we had

to serve on a committee with him, which required thought, philosophy, profound scholarship, and deep reading. He proved himself an ecclesiastic giant. He constructed sentences and simplified paragraphs that had the committee, at times, almost mentally paralyzed. In short, he rose to intellectual majesty in our estimation, that marked him virtually the superior of any man in the House of Bishops. He has some of the eccentricities of genius, we grant, which may be regarded by persons of ordinary attainments as erratic at times; but he has never been looked upon as one-third of the crank that we have been.

Possibly when he becomes enthused he may be a little hasty and extra severe, but never tyrannical in the common acceptation of the term. But South Africa may congratulate herself on having one of the ablest bishops in the A. M. E. Church, and one of the most giant intellects that she has had since the death of Bishop J. P. Campbell and Daniel A. Payne. We thank God he goes to his work not morosed, but willingly and gladly; and if we live through a surgical operation that we are compelled to have, and can sweep the pending debt from Morris Brown College, we shall see him in South Africa during the next quadrennium. We are sure that our brethren will assist us in making the trip.—*The Voice of the People.*

Labor in Liberia—The Lot of the Workingman is a Hard One.—Labor conditions in Liberia are painted in dark colors by Consul General Lyon at Monrovia, in a report to the State Department, and are not likely to give much encouragement to the proposed movement of colored men in the United States toward that country. The consul general says that ships which trade along the coast of Liberia employ native men as stevedores at an average pay of $4.80 a month, which pay, low as it is, is more than is paid by the planters for labor in the farming region. As a consequence the farms are now suffering from lack of labor, the effect of which, the consul general says, is disastrous. Everywhere coffee farms, once flourishing, are now abandoned. The scarcity of labor and the low price of coffee have seriously affected the prosperity of the Liberian farmer.

"It will be seen from this plain statement," says Consul General Lyon, "that foreign labor can never compete with native labor. The disadvantages of climatic conditions and the simplicity of native habits, which lessen his needs as compared to civilized man, render competition impossible. The west coast of Africa is said to be hostile to beasts of burden, and especially to the horse. The absence of that animal from the seacoast would indicate the truth of this statement, though the ox and the horse thrive in the interior, and the camel and the elephant breathe their native air anywhere in Africa. Strange, neither the ox, the camel, nor the elephant has been domesticated to serve the purpose of man in the Republic. This neglect is perhaps due to two causes—ignorance of the methods of domestication of these animals on the part of the civilized

population and economy on the part of the trader, as it is cheaper to keep a man than a horse.

"The aborigines are the beasts of burden. They do precisely what the horse and the mule—in fact, the locomotive—does in the United States. Generally the native man is as strong as an ox. His muscles are well developed on a massive frame and stalwart form; he travels hundreds of miles in the interior with heavy sacks of merchandise either on his head or across his shoulders, with only a cotter on his head to modify the weight of the load. He conveys passengers to and from the interior in a hammock suspended from a horizontal piece of timber, the ends of which rest on his bare shoulders. In this way, for days, weeks, and months, he travels across mountains and rocky plains, fording deep creeks and swimming dangerous rivers. He tills the soil, fells the forest, digs the ditches, bridges the rivers, waits at the table, and does the laundering and cooking, and, in fact, everything that a man or a beast would be expected to do in the way of toil.

"For these services he is compensated as follows: As a carrier for the interior he receives 24 cents per day as wages and from 8 to 12 cents for subsistence; as a laborer on the farm he receives from $2.50 to $3.50 per month and his rations, which consist of one quart of rice and one pound of stockfish per day; as a laborer his wages never exceed $4.80 per month and his rations."—*The Evening Star.*

School Facilities—One of the Problems in which the Negro Must Interest Himself.—*To the Colored People in the South:* The problem of providing proper school facilities for our children is of greatest importance to us as a race. The thinking people of New York and Massachusetts feel that a ten months' school session is necessary to fit their children for life, and a generous public school system answers this demand. How much less can we afford to give our children? The object of this appeal is to force from colored fathers and mothers, from colored men and women who feel and think, a prompt and effective answer to this vital question.

The great majority of our people must depend upon the public schools for all the education they will receive. Not more than one per cent of the colored children of school age will enter a private or an endowed school, and upon the public school rests the burden of educating the remaining 99 per cent if, indeed, they receive any education. It is evident that our progress in the industries, in business, in college and industrial school, as in morality and religion, will be based upon the foundation work done in the public schools. To fail here, then, to neglect our youth in the most formative period of their lives, is to do them an irremedial harm. To speak more definitely, I find that after careful investigation the Negro children in the ex-slave States are in school on an average of 107 days in the year, and that only one-third of the children of school age are in school; that in North Carolina, for example, the average school term is only 68 days, and that only 22.5 per cent of

the Negro children attend school at all. I find that in thirteen of the former slave States 90 per cent of the Negro children of school age did not attend any school for as much as six months during the year 1900, taking that year for an example.

It requires no argument then to prove that if these conditions control we shall continue to be classed as an ignorant, illiterate people. With these facts before us, the main question then is, "What shall be done?" The first answer is, "That we pay our taxes, and thereby aid the State in supporting the public schools." Because of their poverty, and, perhaps, in some cases, their indifference, the States are not supporting an effective school system for our people, especially in the smaller towns and rural districts. The system is but little better for white children outside of the larger cities. Mere fault-finding with public officials will not educate our children. In the present condition of the public schools I would urge, with all the earnestness I can summon, that our ministers, teachers, business men, leaders, parents, and newspapers insist that our people shall:

1. Go before the public school authorities and ask for better school facilities.

2. See that all taxes, especially the poll taxes, which go directly, in most States, into the school fund, are promptly paid.

3. Co-operate in every way possible with the public school officials, and raise money by private taxation or other methods to supplement the present school funds until the school terms are extended to at least eight months. Unless the child is not kept in school for at least seven or eight months in the year we cannot expect him to be educated. A three months' school means practically no school.

4. In connection with the school term of proper length, erect a good, comfortable school-house and properly furnish it. Some of the schools to be found in the rural districts are not fit for any child to spend a day in.

In conclusion, I would repeat that in the present important period in our growth as a people, immediate attention to the public schools is fundamental. If each community will do its full duty, the whole race will be lifted and strengthened and a general quickening will be evident everywhere.—*Booker T. Washington in The Freeman.*

A Bishop's Unwise Talk.—Bishop Turner, of the A. M .E. Church, refuses to sing "America" because, as he asserts, this is not the "sweet land of liberty." It is very much nearer that condition than it was at the time the words of the national anthem were written. Then Bishop Turner's people were in bondage in its most repulsive form. A good deal has been accomplished for them since. Their present condition calls for something more, and in time that something is certain to be forthcoming. Meanwhile, as compared with any portion of Africa, America, for the black man, is not only the sweet land of liberty, but the sweet land of opportunity; and although Bishop Turner is a worthy man, and doubt-

less loves his race, it must be said in all frankness that the talk he is now indulging in about a hegira to Africa is the very worst talk that could meet the ears of the more restless and ignorant portion of our colored population. The negroes are here, and inevitably will work out their destiny here.—*The Evening Star.*

White Men Only "Bleached Negroes."—"God made only black men," Bishop Turner says. "The Jews originally were dark-skinned. Jesus was not a white man. God never made a white man. In the beginning all men were black, but in their wanderings on the earth many of them have become bleached. And in their unnatural pallor many of these bleached men, all of whom were made black at the beginning, now look with contempt and indifference—often with prejudice and hate—upon their brothers, the Negroes, who have retained the color that God gave them. The Bishop does not advise Negroes to learn songs like 'Wash Me and I Shall Be Whiter Than Snow'—a song that he would not tolerate among his people. He goes on to say that he does not want to be misunderstood, though, and he says that he will admit to the credit of the white man—'whose race is at the same time the meanest I ever saw and the best'—that wherever the Negro race tries to rise, as a general rule he will help them."—*The Christian Work and Evangelist.*

Our African Ship Movement a Failure.—About three years ago a company of us met in Nashville, Tenn., and organized a Colored National Emigration and Commercial Association with a view of raising a hundred thousand dollars to purchase a ship by selling ship stock at five dollars a share, allowing any one individual to purchase as many shares as they desired, and to pay four dollars a year, or a dollar every three months, as a membership fee, which membership fee was afterwards reduced to three dollars a year, or one dollar every four months; the membership fee to meet the contingent expenses that might arise. But after publishing and repeatedly speaking upon the object of purchasing the said ship, being for the purpose of building emigrational conveniences and commercial business between this country and Africa, especially the Republic of Liberia, we have raised little less than two thousand dollars, and at this rate it will take us more than a hundred years to dispose of a hundred thousand dollars' worth of ship stock and to purchase a first-class steamship, and that would have to be second-handed. So as we see that the American black man does not intend to help himself, notwithstanding he has been hung, shot, skinned alive, and burnt by hundreds, and as the association elected us treasurer and chancellor, and as we are of sufficient age to depart this life at any time, we have resolved not to hazard our reputation by leaving this money in the treasury, where it might possibly be misappropriated, and we would be charged with malfeasance in office, even after death. Therefore we have ordered every stockholder

by personal letters, and we do hereby request every one by newspaper publications to return their ship stock certificates and let us return every stockholder his money and wash our hands of all financial responsibility. We are sorry that our cruel treatment in this country, accompanied with disfranchisement and the denial of every civil right, has not been a sufficient incentive to stir the American Negro to help himself. The amount of stock offered could have been purchased in one day, for we are able to do it; but our people are so degraded that they have resolved to do nothing but grumble and complain, and as such we do not intend to be a party to any such worthlessness. So all who have invested money and hold stock will please send in their certificates and every dime will be returned by bank checks through registered letters. We await your ship stock certificate. Our mind has not changed in regard to African emigration. We see no other hope for the future of our race, but degradation has made us fools; but we hope our children will have some common sense and see the wisdom of self-help.—*H. M. Turner, treasurer and chancellor.*

The News of Newark, N. J., in a recent issue devotes considerable space to Dr. A. P. Camphor and his work in Liberia. It is very pleasing to the friends of Africa to see this work commanding such notable attention. Dr. Camphor is succeeding admirably in placing this worthy cause upon the hearts of his hearers. A good friend of Africa in California has covenanted to give $100 for five years for the education of a native youth for the ministry, in the College of West Africa. A lady in Kentucky, who gave about $300 last year, promises to increase her donation this year. This is remarkable, for this donor is a working girl, and must deny herself of many things in order to make this splendid gift. But she does it out of interest in the work. Dr. Camphor's success in that field is a splendid endorsement and ought to aid him largely in securing the needed funds. He is giving an illustrated lecture on "Africa," and any one should consider himself fortunate who may be privileged to hear him.

Conference of Liberians—It is Proposed to Put an End to the War Between Tribes.—The chargé d'affaires of the United States legation at Monrovia, Liberia, reports to the State Department, under date of August 8, that a conference was held at Monrovia, during the first week of August, between the president and other Liberian officials, on the one side, and eighteen of the native kings and chiefs on the other, for the purpose of putting an end to wars among the tribes in the interior of the country.

All the kings and chiefs took solemn oaths to keep the peace, to report all grievances to the Liberian government, to obey that government, and to carry out the judgment of the President of Liberia.

Among the results of the conference are the following: At least once

a year all the kings and chiefs must meet in Monrovia to devise plans for the improvement and development of the interior; certain schools are to be established in the interior for the instruction of the native in his own environment; no government officer is to bring any native man from the country without first going to the chief of the tribe to which the man belongs; the matter of prohibiting the shipping out of the country of boys, who constitute the laboring force of the interior, is to be urged before the next legislature of Liberia, and messengers of the chiefs are to be identified and made known to the government officials in Monrovia.

The President of Liberia has appointed three commissioners to hear and determine all matters arising among the tribs in the war-ridden section.

The charge expresses the belief that this conference will result in the establishment of peace and the development of the interior of Liberia.—*The Evening Star.*

Stanley's Peculiar Hobby—Grounds of His Country Place a Reproduction of Central Africa.—It is a matter not generally known that the extensive grounds belonging to Furze Hill, the late Sir H. M. Stanley's country house at Pirbright, are laid out in such a manner as to form a remarkable illustration of the great explorer's discoveries in Central Africa.

From a fine sheet of water, which is known as Lake Victoria Nyanza, there runs a stream which is called the Nile, and another termed the Congo, which latter joins the Zambesi. A miniature waterfall, constructed in imitation of the Victoria falls, but only some five feet in depth, carries out the illusion, and a high mound, with a summer-house at its crest, represents the Mountains of the Moon.

The laying out of the grounds in this manner was a hobby to which Stanley devoted a great deal of time and money during his later years. The work does not, of course, form an accurate geographical model—that would be impossible—but it shows how the great explorer's life's work was his ruling passion to the very end. The little kiosk or summer-house on the Mountains of the Moon was his most favorite resort during the afternoons, and there, either alone or in company with his wife, it was his custom to spend many quiet hours.

The grounds belonging to Furze Hill are very beautiful. There is a bridge over Lake "Victoria Nyanza," and on the rivers and lake are several dainty pleasure boats, in which the members of Stanley's family were accustomed to follow the explorer's expeditions.—*South Africa.*

Trade with West Africa.—Of the great nations, the United States is the most indifferent to the trade of West Africa. To secure the wealth derived from it, ocean lines are in operation between the important ports of the leading nations of Europe, some of which ports are Liverpool,

Southampton, Hamburg, Antwerp, Marsailles, and Barcelona. The absence of any American line is indeed conspicuous. The products of this particular district are palm oil, palm kernels, ginger, rice, cotton, coffee, cassada, camwood, mahogany, walnut, oak, piassava, and rubber.

There is not only great wealth in securing the raw materials and products of Africa, but there is great wealth in supplying the rapidly growing consumption of Africans. Among the common articles of consumption are various kinds of cloth, powder, various guns, axes, knives, salt, gin, tobacco, and numerous articles manufactured for dress and decoration.

It is quite evident the people can produce more if they desire. It is equally evident they would consume more were it in reach; and notwithstanding they make their own knives, swords, spears, articles of dress and of domestic utility, and other weapons to make and repel attack, as well as the more delicate ornaments with which the women adorn their persons, they show a decided preference for foreign-made goods. That their consuming capacity is potentially progressive is proven by the increasing consumption on the part of those in closest proximity to Liberian influence. Why, under these circumstances, the unrivaled fertility of the soil, the treasures of hill and mountain, and all the varied values of rare woods in West Africa seem to have no charm for United States capital is the one signal and conspicuous anomaly in the great and growing traffic of this coast.—*Ernest Lyon, Consul General, Monrovia, Liberia.*

Obstacles to Liberian Trade.—The greatest obstacle to trade is the total absence of direct communication between the West Coast of Africa and the United States. The effects of this absence have made Americans indifferent to this great trade and tardy in the initiation of business enterprises along the coast.

The merchants of the west coast order largely from European countries because of the convenience of direct communication. For instance, the Liberian government recently ordered more than $5,000 worth of goods for government use, such as instruments for a military brass band, powder, a steam launch, etc. I found the reason the United States was not given an opportunity to fill the order was due to the above obstacles.

American advertisements, while good, sometimes work to the advantage of the foreign houses who have representatives on the ground. Buyers, attracted by an advertisement in an American catalogue, cut it out and give it to the foreign merchant here; he orders it from Europe. If the article is of American manufacture, and therefore not in stock, he makes it. This office has had almost a similar experience. I ordered some lamps for use at the legation—such as would be easily obtained in the United States—from a Liberian merchant who deals some with American houses. I thought he would order them from the United States. After waiting two months, I received a letter from him, accompanied by one from a European firm, stating "that the style of lamps

ordered was new, and therefore not in stock, but they were making them." Those interested in the trade here should have an American house, with a general agent on the ground, to sell American goods, exhibit and advertise the same, and to take orders in general. Direct communication would follow the successful execution of such a plan.—*Ernest Lyon, Consul General, Monrovia, Liberia.*

Farming in Liberia.—Judging from the condition in which many immigrants from the United States reach these shores, they have but little information in regard to the development of farming here. Some of the very implements which they ought to bring with them they leave behind. There is scarcely anything else to do here but to farm. The majority of those, therefore, who emigrate to this country ought to have a knowledge of farming, for only those will find ready employment.

As an evidence of the lack of knowledge of the condition on the part of the immigrants who come from the United States, there arrived here recently a family of fourteen persons. The men among them could do nothing else but railroad and farm work. They were strong, robust men, prepared for outdoor exercise. They came expecting to get employment in either of these departments of labor. They knew that they had to do either one or the other before they left, but they made the same mistake that others make in coming here. Instead of bringing their farming implements, they sold out everything that they had and arrived here without a hoe, shovel, ax, pick, or any of those implements which are absolutely necessary for farming and which can not be bought here even at exorbitant rates.

Those who propose to come should know that almost every implement which is used on a farm in the United States can be used in Liberia by the planter who will bring with him improved modern methods; but, strange to say, he not only leaves behind him his farming implements, but he also leaves behind him his modern methods of farming.

In Liberia farming, for the most part, is run on the extensive scale rather than on the intensive. Large tracts of land are planted, but, on account of the lack of scientific cultivation, it does not produce one-fourth of what it would under proper cultivation.

The farmers take advantage of the kindness of nature, and are simply satisfied with what she gives without the bestowal of much individual labor. The same piece of ground is never continually cultivated by the Liberian farmer, who has vast tracts of land, and seldom, if ever, by the aborigines of the same class. A second crop on the same piece of land requires too much labor, which the native is unwilling to give and for which labor the Liberian farmer is unwilling to pay. Each year the native farmer cuts down a new plot of land and moves away from the old, and keeps on moving annually until he moves entirely out of that district; so that it is a common thing to find sections of country once occupied by native farmers and their families wholly depopulated.

Neither horse nor ox nor any of the improved agricultural implements which are used in the United States are employed in Liberia. Everything is done by muscle and sinew. The native acts as ox and the hoe as plow. Not even a scythe or cradle is used to cut the rice at harvest time. Men, women, and children, by means of a penknife, gather the stocks of rice. Hence it takes twelve men to do in one month what the modern improved wheat-cutter would do in four or five hours.—*Ernest Lyon, Consul General, Monrovia, Liberia.*

Bishop Isaac B. Scott.—The election to the missionary episcopacy for Africa of Bishop Isaac B. Scott, D. D., by the Methodist Episcopal Church at its recent General Conference held in Los Angeles, Cal., is another indication of the purpose of that great section of the Christian church to enlarge and push forward its work for the evangelization of that great continent. Bishop Scott will be associated with Bishop Hartzell in the episcopacy work in Africa and will make his residence in Liberia. This, however, will be a great gain to the work of the Methodist Episcopal Church in that Republic. Bishops Hartzell and Scott will have coördinate authority in the supervision of their work in the continent, so that the wise and aggressive policy of Bishop Hartzell will not only be continued in Liberia, but be strengthened by the hearty coöperation of his associate.

This election of Bishop Scott is a crowning illustration of the relation of the great Methodist Episcopal Church to its Negro membership. Bishop Scott was born in Kentucky forty-nine years ago, before the abolition of slavery. He graduated from the Central Tennessee College, in the classical course, in 1880, and at once entered upon his work as a Christian minister. In 1881 he was transferred to the Texas conference, and for twelve years he was pastor and presiding elder in the church. In 1893 Bishop Hartzell, who was then corresponding secretary of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Educational Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the Southern States, appointed him president of the Wiley University at Marshall, Texas. In 1896 he was elected to the editorship of the *Southwestern Christian Advocate*, published at New Orleans, and took his place in official rank with the editors of the *Christian Advocates* of Methodism. He has been a member of five quadrennial general conferences, and was also a member of the two ecumenical Methodist conferences which met in Washington in 1891 and in London in 1901. He brings large experience to the high office and work to which he has been called and bears the reputation of being well balanced, of bright vision, and of exceptional ability in the handling of difficult problems. He has the confidence of the church, and will go out to his work followed by the sympathetic prayers and best wishes of the more than two million communicants of his own church and of multitudes more in America who sincerely wish the very best things for Liberia and all Africa.

Bishop Scott as a writer is vigorous and convincing, and his friends anticipate that his literary work on Africa will be of especial value.

He expects to sail about the first of December and will be accompanied by his wife. His four children will remain in school in Walden University, Nashville, Tenn.—*Rev. Bishop Joseph C. Hartzell, D. D.*

Polishing the Negro.—The Negro has long been, in the estimation of thoughtful observers, the most formidable problem of American politics. The black race is flourishing and multiplying in many States more rapidly than the white people, and yet it remains essentially uncivilized. The quick growth of a degraded type of man side by side with the less prolific increase of a highly developed species presents perils which are especially serious in a country where nominal political equality obtains. Hitherto no satisfactory solution of the difficulty has been offered. "We have seen," writes Professor Miller, of Harvard University, in the current number of the *Forum*, "innumerable remedies prescribed for the ills of this race with the cock-sureness of a patent nostrum. The Bible, the spelling book, the college curriculum, and the industrial workshop have been prescribed, each in rapid succession, as the panacea of all ills." But they have all proved disappointing. Not that the Negro has shown any want of capacity for imbibing knowledge. On the contrary, he has manifested an enthusiasm for education and has learned to conjugate Greek verbs and to write Latin verse. Yet these accomplishments have not enabled white men to accept him as a full brother. Professor Miller even hints that the black man with "a Harvard diploma in his knapsack" is less endurable than his ignorant ancestors, who were at least loyal and faithful. The Negro wears his education ungracefully, and his critics allege that it is only a skin-deep veneer. We gather, however, that Professor Miller does not despair of the ultimate success of education, but time will be required. It is impossible to hurry a race into a condition which has been reached by white people through the toil and suffering of a thousand years.—*Liverpool Weekly Mercury.*

To the Young People of Liberia—By Rev. S. D. Ferguson, Jr.—In thinking over some of the important needs of Liberia, my mind has been specially directed to one of them, which is the necessity of full equipment on the part of the rising generation to shoulder the weighty responsibilities that will rest upon them when the fathers shall have vacated the position which they now fill. The latter is an event that must take place whether those who are to succeed the present incumbents are prepared for it or not. Whehter for success or failure, for weal or woe, one generation succeeds another by an unalterable law that we are bound to submit to. Since, then, there is no alternative but that the youth of the present day are to take the places of those who are now filling important positions in the country, how necessary it is that due attention be given to their training.

The sad record of the last few years shows that necessity is hurrying young men into positions. The fathers are rapidly passing away. Indeed, the death rate is alarming, and makes thinking minds anxious to know what the rising generation is doing in the way of preparation for the positions which they must soon fill. It is gratifying to note the extension and improvement of the educational facilities in the country. The work that is now being done in Liberia College, the College of West Africa, Cutting Collegiate and Divinity School, Reeves Institute, and other institutions of learning is calculated to prepare the youth to become worthy successors of those who are passing off the stage of action. Surely there can be no excuse in future for any young man or woman who may lack the literary qualification to worthily fill the position to which he or she may be called. It only remains for parents and guardians to do the duty incumbent upon them.

Glancing over the official roll, both of church and state, there is much to encourage us. Young men are to be found in the front doing effective work. In the pulpit and at the bar alike their voices are heard proclaiming the glad tidings of salvation and pleading for justice. Some of the largest parochial charges in the country of different denominations are held by young clergymen. In the Supreme Court it is interesting to observe sitting on the one side of the venerable Chief Justice a middle aged associate and on the other a young man who has been found worthy of the distinguished honor. They look like father and sons. Young men are in the legislative halls, they are collectors of customs, postmasters, military officers, physicians, editors, school teachers, heads of mercantile firms, etc. Surely they can not complain of not having been brought to the front and given an opportunity to exhibit their ability. This should serve as an encouragement to others to persevere in their efforts to qualify themselves for work. The good aimed at should not be to simply gain a high position and enjoy its emoluments, but to creditably discharge its duties. The young man that carries with him into office whatever it might be, honestly, sobriety, truthfulness, uprightness, gentility, as well as intelligence, reflects credit, not only upon himself and his immediate connections, but also upon his race.

But the services of young men are not only needed to fill such positions in church and state as mentioned above. Our sacred and political institutions would soon come to grief unless attention is given in other directions as well.

Mechanics, farmers, manufacturers, machinists, and those who serve in other departments of industry are as much needed as preachers, physicians, and statesmen; and, so far as financial gain is concerned, the industrial arts, when properly and intelligently looked after, will be found to pay far better than some of those tempting positions; and, when it comes to *honor*, the man who has to work hard with both brain and muscle is often more deserving of it than those who bear the title. The hope of the success of any country lies very largely in this direction,

and Liberia is no exception to the rule. More attention should therefore be given to it than has been the case heretofore. With the increased facilities for intellectual acquirements, we need to have them extended in this direction. Our future prospects as a people will greatly brighten up when young men of intelligence and respectability are to be seen on farm, at the mill, and in the workshop applying brain and muscle in the production of the essentials of life. In this respect the fathers were far ahead of the sons of Liberia. A gentlemen who recently arrived in the country remarked to me that he had noticed in an old paper that during the civil war in the United States Liberia shipped sugar to that country in considerable quantities, and he wanted to know why nothing is done in that direction now. It is indeed sad to reflect over the ground lost in this respect. Not only sugar, but there was once an abundance of our own nutritious rice raised in the country. Now that article of inferior quality is extensively imported. It is cheering to see from the newspapers that a young man (Mr. Sharp) has taken the business of his father in the manufacture of sugar and syrup. May others follow his good example. If the Government would hold out inducements to the citizens who are inclined in the same direction by offering premiums on such home industries, it might serve as a stimulus to further and more general efforts. A national fair, such as once took place in this country, may again be held to advantage. It would tend to excite competition.

I have not lost sight of the ladies who form so important a part of the body politic. My attention has recently been drawn to articles written by some of them in the papers of this city. One was on "Woman's Rights," which appeared in the *Monrovia Weekly* of September 4. So important a subject ought to be widely discussed. It shows that the ladies are watching the situation and mean to see themselves righted. The success or failure of this Republic depends as largely on the efforts of women as on that of the men. Let, therefore, the young ladies equip themselves for the task that will devolve upon them, that, taking their places side by side with the young men, they may contribute to the well-being of the nation.

You have my congratulations, Mr. Editor, on the success of your journal, which you have remodeled and brought out under the new name. The efforts which you are putting forth in behalf of Liberia, as well as of West Africa generally, deserve our high appreciation. May you continue to succeed.—*Liberia and West Africa.*

Emigration to Liberia from America Discouraged.—His excellency the United States minister to Liberia has addressed the following letter to his Government: "To the Hon. John Hay, Secretary of State, Washington, D. C. Sir: I have the honor to inform you that immediately upon the publication in the *African League*, issued September 26, 1903, of a letter from Rev. W. H. Heard, the president of the Emigration Convention held at Montgomery, Ala., June 26, 1903, in which he states

that emigrants will leave the United States for Liberia in 1904, I began to inquire into the conditions here in order that I might ascertain whether Liberia herself was prepared to receive emigrants of the *class* that would *likely* come in the expedition. From my knowledge of the condition of affairs here I beg to inform you that Liberia is not prepared for indiscriminate emigration in 1904. If the emigrants come here who are unable to support themselves for at least six months, they will die from starvation and the rigor of the African climate. This is further emphasized by the information given in a consular dispatch to the Hon. Francis B. Loomis on the high price of foodstuff.

"There are no houses here, even of a temporary construction, to protect them until they can build for themselves. Some years ago there was a receptacle for emigrants, but this has been demolished by age, and there is no attempt made to replace it.

"The government has in some cases contributed to the emigrants, but there is no evidence of a continuation of the government's gratuity.

"In addition to my own knowledge I have, in order that I might get the consensus of opinion among Liberians themselves, sent out the following letter, a copy of which I here inclose, which will explain itself. I have already a number of replies, which strengthen the position I have taken in this dispatch. I have the honor to be, your obedient servant, Ernest Lyon, Minister Resident and Consul General."—*Sierra Leone Weekly News.*

Obituary—Sir Henry M. Stanley.—The announcement of this distinguished explorer's death had not been anticipated by the general public, though his personal friends knew that for several months his health had been in a very precarious condition. The end came at his home in London on the morning of May 10, in the 63d year of his age.

Stanley's great contributions to geographical discovery are too well known to require extended recapitulation. His expedition to Lake Tanganyika (1871–'72) was of value chiefly in the fact that he found Livingstone, nursed him back to better health, and gave him the supplies he needed to continue his explorations. After Livingstone's death, in 1873, Stanley determined to take up the exploration of Africa where his great predecessor had left it. Entering the continent near Zanzibar on November 12, 1874, he crossed Africa to the mouth of the Congo in 999 days, having traveled over 7,000 miles. The east and west limits of the wholly virgin field which he brought to light on this memorable journey were as far apart as New York and Omaha, and the work he did in this vast territory has stood the test of rigid scrutiny better than that of most pioneer explorers, excepting those who have enjoyed thorough preliminary training for scientific research. Some critics, who complained that his work did not reach the requisite standard as to scientific quality, forgot that the pioneer explorer who traces through a continet a new route thousands of miles in length and beset with dangers can not sit down in

some small area to exhaust its scientific aspects; and yet his work is just as necessary as that of the scientific specialist who follows him.

The largest geographical results of this journey were the map of Victoria Nyanza, the material for which was obtained by a boat journey around the coasts, and the discovery and mapping of the course of the Congo from Nyangwe to the Atlantic, a distance of nearly 2,000 miles. His map of the lake has been curtailed in the northeast, where he had covered with water a part of the country of Kavirondo. He also missed the southwestern prolongation of the lake, though he discovered it on his last expedition, and many coastal details were changed by later surveys. But the map, under the circumstances, was a very creditable product, has been most useful in our atlases, and in many respects it is still the map of the lake. His map of the course of the Congo is, in the main, that of the present day, though Grenfell in particular has added a large amount of detail and corrected geographical positions, the improved mapping being apparent chiefly only on maps of considerable scale.

In 1879, less than two years after Stanley first crossed Africa, he returned to the Congo under the auspices of the International Association and began his five years of incessant toil in founding stations and acquiring treaty rights from over 400 native chiefs in the large region which later became the Congo Free State. His book, "The Congo and the Founding of Its Free State," in which he told the story of these years, contains a large amount of data on soils, plants, minerals, tribes, temperatures, commercial possibilities, and other aspects of the country, and it vastly added to our knowledge of the great basin. His mapping of the Aruwimi, Kwa, Mfimi, and some other tributaries of the Congo, of Lakes Leopold II and Matumba, and of many other geographic units still stand much as he represented them on his large map, though, as is usually the case, many details have been modified by later surveys.

His expedition for the relief of Emin Pasha (1886–'89), one of the most thrilling journeys ever made, resulted geographically in the discovery of the extent of the great forest north of the Congo, the water connection between Albert Nyanza and Lake Albert Edward, the snow-capped Ruwenzori mountain chain between the two lakes, and the southwestern prolongation of Victoria Nyanza. This expedition, the results of which are recorded in his last book of exploration, "In Darkest Africa," ended his active career in that continent.

His work gave a very large area in Equatorial Africa to the knowledge and enterprise of the world. His contributions to the literature of Africa were far more voluminous than those of any other explorer, his efficiency as an observer of man and of nature continuously grew, and his writings are still the most prominent sources of information on the regions treated. The fact is now generally recognized that Stanley, after Livingstone, gave greater impulse than any other man to the movement which resulted in the rapid exploration of most parts of unknown Africa and in the division of its vast territory among the European powers.—*Bulletin of the American Geographical Society.*

Rhodes Scholarships Slighted.—In an interview at Tuskegee recently, Dr. Booker T. Washington, of the Tuskegee Institute, expressed himself as being very much surprised because, so far as he has been able to learn, not a single Negro student endeavored to take the examination which would permit him to go to Oxford to take advantage of the Rhodes scholarships. These scholarships, as is well known, yield $1,500 a year.

Mr. Washington, months ago, took especial pains to get information from Dr. George R. Parkin, the American agent of the Rhodes Fund, and to see that information as to the time and place of the examinations was sent to all of the Negro newspapers. Notwithstanding this fact, no Negro student seems to have been enough interested in this opportunity to secure the higher education to even attend the examinations.

We can also state that Dr. Washington had several interviews with Dr. Parkin, the latter making one special trip to Tuskegee for conference, with the purpose of seeing that no discrimination should be permitted against Negro applicants. Dr. Washington's effort to help the race in this most important matter appears to have been without result, in spite of the persistent demand for larger opportunity for higher education, which occupies much of the space of some of our newspapers.—*New York Age.*

American Goods in Liberia.—After careful investigation, I find that the feeling here among the people is a preference for American manufactured goods. Our shoes, lawns, and calicoes, when they can be had, are bought in preference to those of other countries. The merchants here cater to the native trade, and cloths are manufactured to suit their fancy in grade and color. There is not an American merchant in Monrovia. The trade is divided up between England and Germany in the main, the merchants being Liberians, Englishmen, and Germans.—*Ernest Lyon, Consul General, Monrovia, Liberia.*

On the Immigration of American Negroes to Liberia.—Having been requested to give my views on the subject of the immigration of Africans from the United States to Liberia, with special reference to the present movement to that end, I beg to submit the following:

In my opinion, there are three essential things that demand attention in deciding such a question.

I. The necessity of consulting the will of God.

Surely no one who believes that there is an overruling Providence directing the affairs of this life would be willing to take so important a step, involving, as it sometimes does, such serious consequences, without first satisfying his mind that it is in keeping with the will of God.

In permitting Africans to be torn from their native land and carried across the ocean to be enslaved in America, God must have had an object in view. We know that in the case of Joseph, the son of Jacob, there was good to result from his having been sold and enslaved in

Egypt. Said he to his brethren, "Be not grieved nor angry with yourselves that ye sold me hither; for God did send me before you to preserve life." So in like manner must it have been with our fathers. It is impossible to conceive just why God permitted them to pass through such a severe ordeal as their bondage in America was otherwise than that it was to fit them to return to Africa with the blessing of civilization and Christianity, and thus preserve the life of their people. That being the case, any movement in the latter direction must be in keeping with the Divine will. But the bare knowledge of that fact does not suffice. The purposes of God are not often fully accomplished without a slow development of circumstances leading to them. Four hundred and thirty years elapsed before His promise to Abraham that his seed should inherit the land of Canaan was fulfilled, and two hundred and fifty-four of those years rolled slowly away from the time that Joseph was sold into slavery to the entrance of his people into the promised land. Certainly to us it seems a very long time to have to wait, but we must remember "that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day." In this matter we need, therefore, to follow the indications of Providence as they are made manifest, for such a course would be a guarantee of success. When the Negroes in America are moved by the conviction that the Lord permitted them to be carried away from their fatherland for good—good not only to themselves, but also to their kinsmen that were left behind—and that the same Divine will must be exercised in the matter of their return, and also that He has a work for them to do in this land, they will not only regard it their duty to come, but their highest privilege to fall in line and help bring about the purposes of God.

I am aware that this religious view of the subject is foreign to the minds of those who give themselves no concern about the will of God in matters appertaining to the affairs of this life; but it is always a mistake and one that will lead to disastrous consequences when men dare to run counter to the Divine will in any matter. It will be found to be particularly so with us. As a race we are peculiar people and unlike any other on the face of the earth. Our success will depend altogether upon a due recognition of the relation we sustain to God and the faithful discharge of the duties growing out of the same. Every one who would emigrate from foreign countries to join us should bear this in mind and come prepared, morally and religiously, to help forward the work of Christianity and civilization. There is no place here for infidels, atheists, or skeptics, for the end to be accomplished demands a service which they can not render. Let all such remain in the United States, where their pernicious example and teaching will do less harm to the cause of Christ than here.

II. The necessity of due preparation in Liberia for those who may come.

Notwithstanding the sad experience of recent years, those who have the management of the emigration scheme seem not to be sufficiently

mindful of the necessity of providing for the comfort of the newcomers to this country. At the very best, some degree of suffering is always to be expected, owing to the change of climate and the hardships incident to settlement in a new country. How much more when little or nothing is done to afford relief. In former years, when the American Colonization Society had the managemeat of these matters, the necessary preparation was always made for each expedition beforehand. Receptacles were built, physicians and nurses employed, food, medicine, and other essentials provided, and everything done to promote the health and well-being of the people whom they sent out. The circumstances under which immigrants come to the country now have changed; but the necessity for a similar provision for their maintenance and care will always exist. Indeed, for their good as well as for the good of this Republic they should not be allowed to come unless some such wise arrangement is previously made. Even under the prudent management of the said Society, there were sometimes dissatisfied persons who were anxious to return to the land whence they had come; but the percentage of such was never as great as at present, though perhaps it is owing to the difference in the financial condition of the immigrants, those who were not able to pay their way back having had to content themselves and remain. But aside from this consideration it is a known fact that there has been much suffering among the people of recent expeditions, caused by the lack of a previous arrangement for their well-being, and those of them who have returned to America must have carried a very unfavorable report of the country. It is a mistake. There is nothing the matter with the country. Why should it be blamed because people will not exercise a little judgment? Let them go to any other country in the same silly manner and they will find suffering awaiting them there likewise. In cases where individuals or families come to Liberia on their own responsibility—*i. e.*, unconnected with a regular organized company—it seems to me that there should be an immigration bureau under government appointment, with whom all such persons should correspond before coming, in order that information might be had and the necessary arrangements made for them.

III. The necessity of imparting correct and full information to those who have a mind to come to Liberia.

The method adopted by some persons to induce immigration to this country is an evil that should exist no longer. They do not hesitate, not only to exaggerate the truth, but to circulate falsehoods concerning the country, which they represent as an El Dorado. No little harm is done, both to the country and the immigrants themselves, when, influenced by some glowing representation, they come here with erroneous ideas and false expectations. The consequence is disappointment and discouragement, which often lead to their return home. Certainly there are natural advantages in Liberia of sufficient importance to induce our brethren in exile to come over and cast in their lot with us; but there should be no disguise of the fact that there can be no success here but by dint of per-

severing labor, and that the disadvantages incident to life in a new country are here in full measure. Surely this information will not deter any but the indolent from coming to the country; and, if so, it is most desirable to have that class of would-be immigrants to clearly understand that it would be better, both for themselves and for us, if they would remain where they are. No; let there be no false coloring of the picture, and it will not deter the right kind of people from coming. All that industrious and enterprising men would want to know is whether others have stemmed the current and succeeded here; and on receiving that assurance—there being abundant proof—I am satisfied that they would at once determine that what others, no better than themselves, have done they can do likewise.

Only give them the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, that they may understand the situation and come prepared to grapple with the difficulties to be met with here. There is no doubt that they would then succeed as well as, and perhaps better than, their brethren who have preceded them.

Liberia has a great future before it, but it can not be brought about without the combined efforts of the pioneers who have already come to the country, their exiled brethren in other lands who have been trained in the arts and sciences that are necessary to the development of the resources of the country as well as in the acquirement of habits of industry, and of their brethren in this land who, though now in heathenism, are susceptible of the attainments that will fit them to take their places in the body politic. Then, under the government of a healthy and strong Negro nationality in this land, "the wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose."—*Rt. Rev. S. D. Ferguson, D. D., Bishop of the Missionary District of Cape Palmas and parts adjacent, in Liberia and West Africa.*

Nat Dowe Merriam, M. D., a native African of the Grebo tribe in Liberia, who has been studying in Walden University since 1896, sailed from New York by steamship *Umbria* Saturday, May 14. His traveling expenses from America to Liberia were paid by the American Colonization Society. Dr. Merriam was born in Cape Palmas, Liberia, and is now in the 26th year of his age. He was converted in 1884, the year when he entered the Mission School of Cape Palmas Seminary. He was educated in the Methodist schools of Liberia until he came to the United States in 1896 to enter Walden University, Nashville, Tenn. While in Walden he took the normal, business, and medical courses, being graduated from the Meharry Medical College with the degree of M. D., in March, 1904. Dr. Merriam was licensed to preach in 1901, and will join the Liberia conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church when he enters upon his work in Liberia, where he will be an ative preacher and physician, working among the members of his own tribe.—*Southwestern Christian Advocate.*

Bishop Hartzell in New Orleans.—Bishop Hartzell arrived in New Orleans from Chicago Saturday evening, September 3, and was met at the depot by Bishop Scott, Dr. Marshall, Rev. W. R. Butler, and others representing New Orleans Methodism.

Sunday morning he preached in St. Charles Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church and Sunday night in Union Chapel. On Monday afternoon the New Orleans preachers' meeting gave him a reception at First Street Church, and Monday evening a great audience greeted him and Bishop Scott at Wesley Chapel, where he spoke on "Africa and Its Evangelization."

This is the bishop's first visit to New Orleans since his election to the Episcopal work in Africa eight years ago, and, as was to be expected, his greeting among our own people was not only cordial but enthusiastic; and outside of our church circles, among many leading citizens who knew him personally and appreciated his work during his many years' residence in New Orleans, not a few took particular pains to call upon him and in various ways indicate their appreciation of him, not only as a distinguished representative of the great church in which he is a bishop, but of his years of faithful service in Louisiana and the South, as a Christian minister, editor, educator, and as a man having conservative and large views as to the relation of the races and the solution of the great problems which so keenly occupied the thought of the people in the Southern States while he was in their midst.

Bishop Hartzell was pastor of St. Charles Avenue Church for three years, and at the end of that time, in 1873, he was appointed presiding elder of the New Orleans district, which position he held for nine years. At that time the district contained our three German churches of New Orleans. In 1873 he founded and became the editor and publisher of the *Southwestern*. The New Orleans *Advocate*, which was published by Doctor, afterward Bishop, Newman for three years, was discontinued in 1869. For several years Bishop Hartzell was a member of the public school board of New Orleans and had a large share in the reorganization of its public school system. Besides his presiding eldership and editorship he was secretary of the conference, superintendent of the Orphans' Home at Bayou Teche, and every year made extensive tours throughout the Southern States and the North, representing the work of the church in the Southwest. In 1870 he had the yellow fever. At the same time his heroic and noble wife, loved and honored by all who knew her, had the yellow fever also. In 1873 the bishop had a second attack, more serious than the first. During the same year he was carried off by a steamboat at Berwicks bay with a serious attack of the cholera. In 1882 he was elected assistant corresponding secretary of the Freedman's Aid and Southern Educational Society and removed to Cincinnati. In 1888 he was elected to the secretaryship of that great society, which position he held for eight years. It is not too much to say that, as compared with the administration of others in that society, his will stand in the very front rank.

In 1896 he was elected missionary bishop for Africa under such manifestly providential conditions as to impress the whole church with the belief that his call to that work, both in preparation and the manner of his choice, was of Divine leading. The record of his eight years' Episcopal work in Africa is before the church, and has received the highest commendations for aggressive, successful pioneer and practical work. The results achieved in the better organization of the work and the increase of laborers have greatly encouraged the church. Following the reading of Bishop Hartzell's report at the last general conference, among others who commended it, Dr. A. B. Leonard, our missionary secretary, said:

"For eight years I have been in the closest fellowship with Bishop Hartzell in the work he is carrying forward. I have known all his plans, I have entered into those plans to coöperate with him, and there are few, if any, on this conference floor who can have any conception of the difficulties he has been required to encounter and the success with which he has mastered those difficulties. We ought to thank God that Bishop Hartzell has been called to the supervision of our work in Africa."

The bishop will remain in this country until after the general missionary committee meeting, which meets in Boston November 9. His time while here will be given to represent the work in Africa and helping to increase its resources in workers and money. Our people in the South will especially follow him with their interest and prayers as he returns to the great continent to which his life has been consecrated.—*Southwestern Christian Advocate.*

Ex-Attorney General Haynes' Views on Immigration.—Hon. Ernest Lyon, U. S. Minister and Consul General, Monrovia—Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your unofficial communication under date of 22d instant, asking for my views upon the subject of immigration from America to Liberia. In reply I have to say that I have read the article referred to, as published in the *African League* of September 12, 1903, as well as others appearing in said paper from time to time upon this subject of the most vital importance to the government and people of this Republic.

Long before this time I have come to the conclusion from observation of the *class* of people coming to this country from America, especially within the last four or five years, and the results which have followed, that in spite of the most learned advocates of a wholesale immigration to Liberia of an *indiscriminate class* of Negroes have said, and may still say, I maintain that it is *not* just the best thing for Liberia at present.

As to the proposed settlement of ten thousand Negroes into the interior settlements and at a distance of one or more hundred miles from civilized centers, this will be a most grievous mistake, and will, I feel sanguine, prove to be an absolute failure to the immigrants and ruinous to the government and people of this Republic.

Visiting America three years ago, and discussing this subject of immigration with scores of the leading Negroes of that country, I became more strongly convinced that the class of people to contribute to the growth of this young country, and which we so much need, will not be coming here in the near future, in spite of their unfavorable environments in America; and I also discovered that it is this indifferent class that we are not able to utilize and should not be willing to support, and which has not contributed anything to the uplift of themselves nor the race, even with all the boasted American opportunities surrounding them, that the whites, as well as the leading Negroes of America are anxious to be rid of.

People of the caliber of those who came here and founded the settlements of Arthington and Crozierville are those whose need is felt here, and they would prove mutually or reciprocally beneficial themselves and to the government and people of Liberia.

Men of the stamp of the late Prof. Julius C. Stevens are also needed and will be welcomed here at any time. In fine, I am emphatically opposed to immigration from America as heretofore projected—of people not having the least idea of the duties and responsibilities of citizenship in a country to be built up and established as ours is to be. When the Negro of America and elsewhere shall have learned that he in coming to Liberia is so doing for the purpose of assisting to increase and advance the resources, wealth, intelligence, both physical and intellectual, the high Christian and social standard of the country, and that, too, upon *Negro* lines, then, I am impressed, and not until then, can he fill the bill required of him as a citizen.

I trust I do not appear pessimistic upon this subject, for I would equally deplore the influx *in great numbers* even of the most learned or wealthy, for we have not yet space for a great number of the learned, while at the same time I fear that the risk of the sudden uppearance of too much money before we have learned to utilize it will be against us. I believe in nations advancing by steps and not by sudden leaps.

While I have not given you my strongest reasons for these *my* views, yet they are my views, arrived at after having been born and reared here and for thirty years having paid attention to this subject, as well as having taken in the object lessons put before the country during these years.

I trust that you may be able to get all the facts necessary to enable you to correctly advise and direct upon the subject to the mutual benefit of our brethren in America and the government and people of Liberia. I have no objection to the publication of this letter verbatim.

T. W. Haynes.

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